

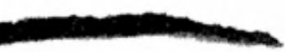
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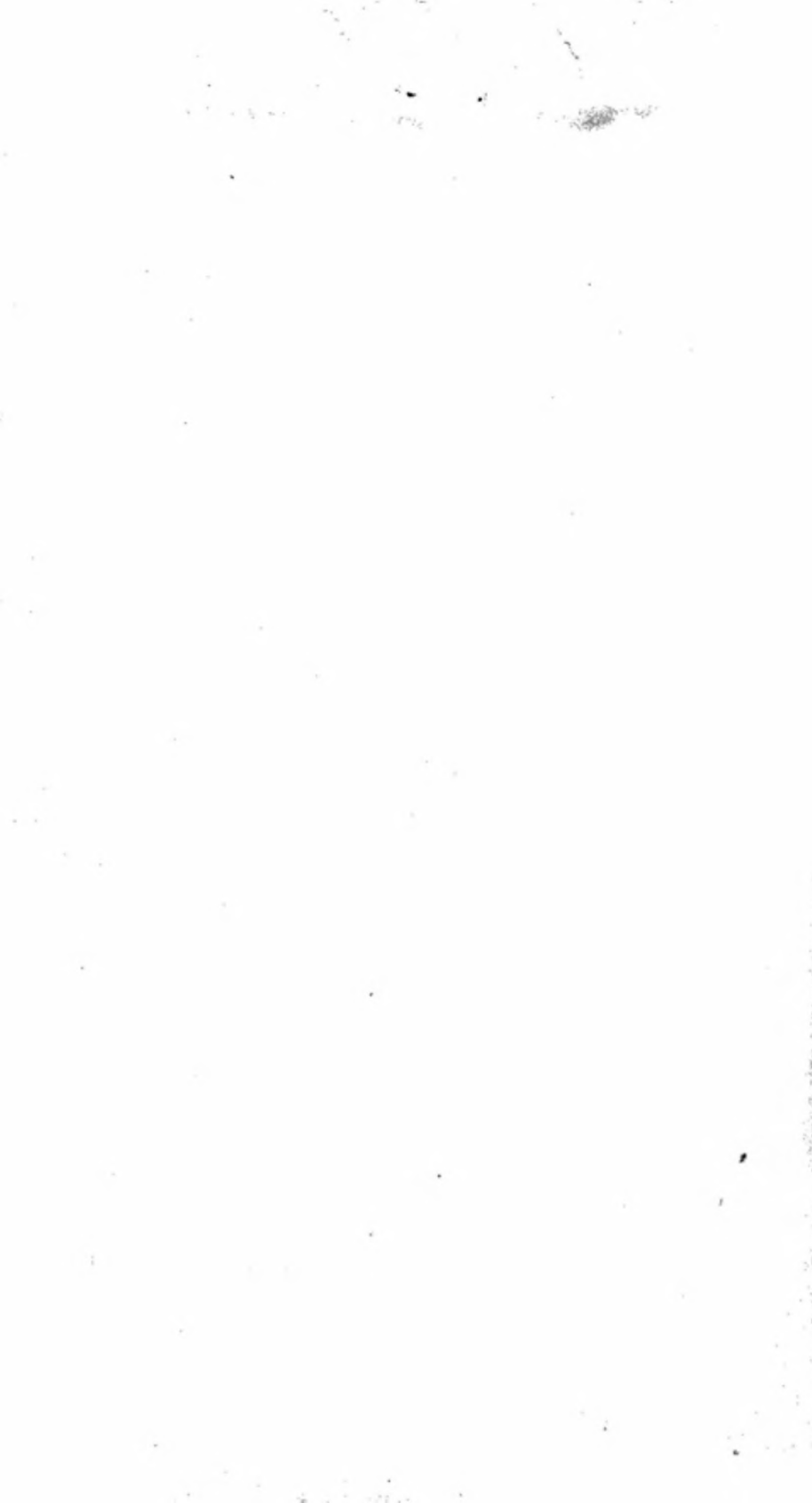
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THE TOKUGAWA PRINCES OF MITO.

BY E. W. CLEMENT.

(Read 16th October, 1889.)

This paper can make no claim to originality, for it is only a compilation, whose inception and completion were as follows. During the past year, in the advanced classes of the Ibaraki Common Middle School, I assigned "The History of Mito" as a topic for compositions. Having become greatly interested in the essays which were presented, from various ones I culled the most important facts: then, with the help of two of the teachers of the school, I gathered other facts, and harmonized as far as possible the conflicting statements: and finally I verified or corrected the same, and obtained yet more important material, through the kindness of Mr. Kwan Kurida, a well-informed historian, who is now engaged in collating valuable facts for the *Dainihonshi*, the famous history of Japan. In some instances, although the English is not perfectly accurate, I have quoted the exact phraseology of certain students. Therefore, to them, to Professors Tani and Obara, and to Mr. Kurida, belongs the credit of the facts of this production, although they are not responsible for all matters of opinion expressed herein. As I have become more and more interested in my studies in this line, I hope to be able to continue them, both for the purpose of correcting the mistakes of this paper, and of collecting other important material from this new field. Although, as local history, it may not have much general interest now, I trust that, since in time the national history must be written from local history, it may hereafter be found useful.

And now, although I have written so much by way of explanatory preface, I venture, by way of introduction to my subject proper, to trace briefly the history of this part of the country, before it came into the possession of the Tokugawa family. When the Mito castle was first built, I have not ascertained: but, according to my informants, the first famous prince of this region was Taira Kunika, in the reign of the Emperor Daigo (898-931 A.D.). Taira Daijō, as he is also called, was a son of Prince Takamochi, the first ancestor of the famous Taira family. Not Mito, however, but Ishida, of Makabe county, was the place of his residence: while his grandson, Taira Koremoto, and his descendants, lived in a place called Mizumori. But in the twelfth century, Baba Sukemoto, belonging to a branch of the Taira family, came to this place, then called Baba; and his descendants lived here, and some of them enlarged the castle. This state of affairs continued till 1427, when Yedo Michifusa, defeating Baba Mitsumoto, took possession of this place, which was then for the first time called Mito.

This name, as you are aware, is a compound of *mizu* and *to*, and, therefore, means "water-door." There is a tradition that in very ancient times the ocean, which is now 3 *ri* to the east, extended to this place; and that the mouth of the Naka River was here: hence the name. This is quite probable; for the upper town (*Kami-ichi*) of Mito is on the verge of one of the low-lying hills of the Tsukuba range, and the land between it and the ocean is very low and flat. Moreover, in support of this theory, I may quote what Messrs. Satow and Hawes say in their "Hand-Book of Japan" about the Tsukuba Mountains. On page 470 I read as follows:— "Tsukuba is said to be composed of two Chinese words meaning 'built bank,' and the legend is that Izanagi and Izanami constructed the mountain as a bulwark against the waves of the Pacific Ocean, which they had forced to retire to the other side of Kashima, formerly an island in the sea. This tradition is in accordance with the fact recently verified by geologists, that the eastern shores of

Japan have been gradually rising during many centuries past." It seems probable, therefore, that Mito obtained its name from a geographical fact which had passed into the traditions of its people. Indeed, according to one informant, Mito was the original name, changed to Baba, and restored by Yedo Michifusa.

In 1590 the Yedo family gave way to Satake Yoshishige, who soon after was succeeded by Satake Yoshinobu. The latter in the Sekigahara campaign (1600) was an ally of Toyotomi Hideyori, and, after the defeat of the latter, was removed by the victorious Iyeyasu to Akita in Ugo (1602).

When Iyeyasu divided the spoils of war among his adherents, in 1602, Mito fell to the lot of his fifth son, Takeda Nobuyoshi, who came from Sakura in Shimōsa, but died the same year. Inasmuch as he had been adopted into the Takeda family, he is not included among the Tokugawa Princes of Mito.

If these dates are correct, there was a short interval till 1603, when Tokugawa Yorinobu, the tenth son of Iyeyasu, assumed the lordship of Mito. In 1609 he was transferred to Suruga and Tōtōmi, and ten years later to Ki-shiū, where he became the ancestor of the Tokugawa Princes of Kii. In his place Tokugawa Yorifusa, the eleventh son of Iyeyasu, was assigned to Mito with an estate of 280,000 *koku*.^{*} He is the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty of Mito Princes; and it is with him, therefore, that my subject properly begins.

Yorifusa, born in 1603, ruled in Mito from 1609 till his death in 1661, after which he was known as Ikō. At that time the most prominent lords of Japan were the Tokugawa Princes of Kii, Owari and Mito. These three families were given, on account of their influence with the *bakufu*,† the appellation of the *go-sanke*, or the "honorable three houses." As one student expressed it, "These three branches bore the responsibility of protecting the main body; and especially the Prince of Mito, who, though inferior as regards the possession of wealth, in power far exceeded the

^{*} Increased in the time of Tsunayeda to 350,000 *koku*.

† The Shōgunate or Government of the Shōgun.

others, assumed the office of advising the government, and usually stayed at Yedo." In Yedo he laid out the Kōrakyen, in which he built a mansion for himself and his successors: which place is now the site of the Arsenal. It is said of Iyeyasu, that, while he liked, he also feared Yorifusa: and, when the former was dying, he told his heir, Hidetada, that Yorifusa was "like a sword in its sheath,—safe, if kept there, but dangerous, if unsheathed." This probably had reference to the courage and ambition of Yorifusa, who, when a boy, had wished for many vassals, that he might obtain as much power as possible. It was said that he feared no man; and certainly in his government he pursued a strong and fearless policy. His eldest son, Yori-shige was first made ruler of Shimodate with 50,000 *koku*, and afterwards of Takamatsu in Sanuki with 120,000 *koku*: while his second son, Mitsukuni, became his successor in the Mito domain.

Mitsukuni, born in 1628, had been made heir when he was only five years old. At the age of seven, one day, with his father he watched the beheading of some criminals. The night was very dark: but, when his father asked him if he could bring the heads of those men, he unhesitatingly replied in the affirmative. He then went alone to the place of execution, searched in the darkness for the corpses, took hold of the heads, and brought them by the hair to his father.

When his father died, Mitsukuni did not wish to succeed; but, by order of the *bakufu*, he had to assume the power. He then called together his brothers, and said to his elder brother: "I am very much ashamed to supplant you. I wish to make your eldest son, Tsunakata, my successor." Therefore he did so; and he also adopted Tsunayeda, the second son of his elder brother; while his own son, Yoritsune, became the heir of that elder brother. In those days, when a lord died, his favorite servants usually committed *hara-kiri*; so that, when Yorifusa died, a few tried to kill themselves; but Mitsukuni prevented them from carrying out their intention. Afterwards the government prohibited that practice.

In the government of his *han* (principality), Mitsukuni, although he is said to have been sometimes cruel to those who opposed him, appears in the main to have adopted a kind and wise policy. He often disguised himself, and, going around to the villages and hamlets, examined the condition of the common people. He helped poor families ; and, as an example of industry, cultivated his own rice-field. "He prohibited luxury, and made taxes low." For several continuous years the dry season was very severe, so that the crops suffered great damage, and the taxes could not be paid in full. Accordingly, Mitsukuni diminished by half his own supply of dishes, food, and clothes. He also formed a plan to build public granaries in many places. On account of this storing of provisions, when, in the seventh year of Tempō (1836), there came a great famine, not a person perished within the dominions of the Prince of Mito. Mitsukuni also published books on medicine, and distributed them among the people. He made a light-house at Minato, the port at the mouth of the Naka River : he built large ships, and sent his subjects on voyages to Manchuria. He planted pine-trees on the way-side of Kogane-gahara, which is a plain in Shimōsa on the direct road between Mito and Yedo. He opened many pastures ; and he planted many useful trees such as the *kōzu* (paper-mulberry), *urushi* (lacquer), and *haze* (wax). He brought mollusks from Yedo to Iso, a sea-shore village 3 *ri* from Mito ; and from Yezo, he brought stones on which *kombu* (an edible sea-weed) was growing. In religious matters his policy was thorough : on account of abuses of the priests, he destroyed many Shintō, and about 900 Buddhist, temples ; but he was a protecting patron of the oldest and most famous temples of both kinds.

But Mitsukuni, or (to call him by his posthumous name) Gikō, is best known, perhaps, as a scholar and a patron of scholars. In his time the government, favoring Chinese learning, literature, and religion, established a library and a school, and built a temple to Confucius, in Yedo. To this library the Prince of Mito presented many old Japanese

books, such as the *Nihonshoki*, the *Zokunihonki*, etc. But not being content with these opportunities, which were outside of his own domain, he collected books, and established a library called the Shōkōkan. The succeeding princes added to it from time to time, so that now it amounts to more than 200,000 volumes, most of which are Chinese and Japanese works, though a few Dutch books on natural history and zoölogy are included. This library is not thrown open to the public; but by the kindness of Mr. Kurida I was permitted to see it. At that time I was also shown 45 models, about the size of an ordinary dog-kennel, and of various styles, of Confucian temples. In the Shōkōkan Mitsukuni not only collected many valuable works, but he also called in "a host of scholars from all parts of Japan," and invited to Mito a learned Chinaman, named Shu Shunsui. The latter was among those Chinese scholars, who, when the Ming dynasty was overthrown by the Shing dynasty, fled from China, and found refuge in Japan. Shu Shunsui died in Yedo in 1682 at the age of 83, and was buried at Mount Zuiriu, about 15 miles north of Mito. This place, which is the burial-ground of the Mito Princes, is reached by passing through Ōta, where the Satake family's castle was located. The tomb of this Chinese scholar is in the heart of the woods among the sepulchres of the princes. His monument is inscribed on the front with his name and titles, and on the other three sides with his biography.*

It was also during the time of Mitsukuni that another Chinese, named Shinyetsu, became a priest of the Gion (Buddhist) temple in Mito, and, dying here, was buried within the precincts of that temple.†

It is said of Mitsukuni, that he ordered his scholars, instead of following the custom of shaving their heads, to let their hair grow long.

Thus, with excellent Chinese and Japanese scholars under his patronage, Mitsukuni began literary labors on his own account. He wrote the *Jōzambunshū*, a collection of 20 vol-

* For further particulars of Zuiriu see Note A.

† See Note C.

umes of essays on various subjects; the *Yōzaneisō*, a collection of 5 volumes of his Japanese poems; the *Reigiruiten* (510 volumes), treating principally of various Japanese rites and ceremonies; and, last but not least, the *Dainihonshi* (242 volumes), a history of Japan. This last work, "written in the purest Chinese," began with the reign of Jimmu Tennō, and was brought by Mitsukuni "down to the time when the two imperial courts became united in one" (1393 A.D.). The subsequent princes gradually added to it, and circulated it by copied manuscripts, "until 1851, when the wide demand for it induced its publication in print" [Griffis]. The present work of Mr. Kurida in connection with it, under the patronage of the present members of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, is the compilation of important geographical, agricultural, commercial and monetary facts. The original work includes "a chronological record of events and biographies of particular persons;" and, although it often needs explanatory notes, "it is considered to be the most complete ever written in this country."

This history, according to my pupils, "stated the relations of emperor and subject." It also "affected the minds of the people, and brought on the Revolution." But I do not need to rely on the opinions of young men yet in school; for I may also quote Dr. W. E. Griffis, who in his turn quotes Mr. E. M. Satow. The former in his "Mikado's Empire," although he makes two little errors (in the date of Mitsukuni's birth, and in the number of the volumes of the *Dainihonshi*) writes very appreciatively of that history. He speaks of it as "the classic which has had so powerful an influence in forming the public opinion which now upholds the Mikado's throne." On the same page (298) he says: "The tendency of this book, as of most of the many publications of Mito, was to direct the minds of the people to the Mikado as the true and only source of authority, and to point out the historical fact that the Shōgun was a military usurper." He also quotes the words of Mr. Satow, who called Mitsukuni "the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868."

But now I presume, that you are perplexed, as I was at first, because the Mito princes of the Tokugawa family, in the time of Mitsukuni and afterwards, were working against the Shōgun in favor of the Emperor. In the case of Mitsukuni, this feeling found expression not merely in words, written and oral. He also raised a large monument at Hyōgo to Kusunoki Masashige, the famous general of the Emperor Go Daigo in the fourteenth century. He did this, it is said, to excite once more feelings of royalty; for he understood well the advantages of nationality. Another says that the Tokugawa Shōguns were wicked, while the Mito Princes were good; and, therefore, as light can have no fellowship with darkness, the latter were opposed to the former. Yet again it has been suggested, that jealousy of the other two branches, Owari and Kii, was the prime cause. The domain of Kii was 555,000 *koku* and that of Owari was 550,000 *koku*. Moreover, just before his death, Iyeyasu had issued a law, that, in default of an heir to the Shōgun's throne, the successor should be chosen from one of those two houses (Kii and Owari), and that the Princes of Mito should be only advisers of the Shōgun. It seems likely that jealousy, or ambition, may have been the motive in the case of Nariaki, in the present century, as we shall see later: but with Mitsukuni, who seems to have had an aversion to the responsibilities of authority, patriotism was undoubtedly the motive. However it may be, the Mito Princes were almost always found in opposition to the Shōgun and in loyalty to the Emperor. And, if any one is especially delighted in tracing the revenges of history, let him take careful notice of the following facts. Only once during the régime of the Tokugawa Shōguns did any of the Mito branch attain to that exalted position, and then by adoption into another family. And after the long-waged warfare of the Mito Princes against the usurped power of the Shōgunate, it was that one Mito Shōgun, Keiki, who was compelled to surrender that office to the Emperor.

Chiefly, it is probable, on account of its literary activity, Mito, to quote from a pupil, "became the first place through-

out the whole empire of Japan." I cannot, moreover, refrain from quoting the boastful language of another pupil, who wrote: "Therefore Mito made great progress in literature, while other countrymen sank into an ignorant condition." Such an extremely egotistical statement we must receive with several grains of salt: but, making allowance for the exaggerations of local pride, we must acknowledge that Mito, at least in the realms of literature, was at that time famous and influential. The name of Mitsukuni was known in China, Corea, and other countries; and "foreign deputies never neglected to inquire after his health." Dr. Griffis says: "The province of Mito was especially noted for the number, ability and activity of its scholars." The schools of Mito were the best in the Empire.

In 1690 Mitsukuni, probably on account of his political principles, was obliged by the *bakufu* to resign the government of his clan to his adopted heir, Tsunayeda. Mitsukuni therefore retired to Nishiyama, near Ōta, to the north of Mito. In this cool and beautiful place, where crane abounded, he could live very quietly. The day after he gave up the power, he was promoted by the Emperor to the position of *chūnagon*. When he was going back from Yedo to Mito, he left for his heir a poem, which contained the following four points of advice:—

- I. Govern with mercy.
 - II. Calamities arise from the harem (*okugoten*).
 - III. Do not violate the laws of the *gorin*, which are defined in Dr. Hepburn's dictionary as "the five human relationships of father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, friend, and brother."
 - IV. Morning and night think about loyalty.
- Mitsukuni died at Nishiyama in 1700 at the age of 73.

As previously stated, Mitsukuni had made his elder brother's first son, Tsunakata, his heir, and had adopted the second son, Tsunayeda. By the death of the former, the latter became the heir and the next Prince of Mito. He had been born in 1656; and he died in 1718. I have only a little

to write concerning him: that he indicated the time of day by beating a drum instead of a bell; and that he was a learned man, who had the honor of lecturing before the Shōgun. After his death he was called by the name Shikkō.

His successor was Munetaka, a son of Yoritoyo, of Sanuki, and a great-grandson of Yorishige, Gikō's elder brother. He was born in 1705, and ruled till his death in 1730. He also was a learned man and economical. He once taught his subjects a rough lesson in economy. He was to go at a certain time to Zuiriu to worship at the sanctuary of his ancestors: therefore, the officers of the villages along the way, being anxious to make the road as neat as possible, spent a great amount of labor and money for that purpose. When he reached a village, called Kawai, and saw what had been done, he stopped, and, having told them that he ought not to walk on such a neat road, went another way to Zuiriu. He was very fond of reading: and, as he liked the sea-shore, he lived usually at Minato. He issued ten articles of laws for the *samurai*. He tried, as he said, to pursue a middle policy between the severity of Ikō and the mildness of Gikō. His posthumous name is Seikō.

He was succeeded in 1730 by Munemoto, who was then only two years old. During his rule, in 1764, the castle was burnt, and rebuilt in the same place. In his Yedo mansion, and outside the gate of the Mito *Saibansho*, he hung boxes for complaints against the administration. He personally gave instruction to the *Samurai* of his province. When he died in 1766, he received the name of Riokō.

Haruyasu, born in 1751, came next. A few years after he came to the power, he ordered his officers, high and low, to give their written opinions concerning the best method of restoring the finances of the province to a good condition. He diminished his own expenses, and ordered his subjects to economize in food and clothes. He advised the Buddhist priests, who had grown lazy and ignorant, to be more active and studious. He removed some of the minute restrictions respecting the *samurai*.

During his rule Tanuma Gemba no Kami was one of the

Shōgun's council (*Gorōjin*), and, although a bad man, had gained great influence with the Shōgun (Iyeharu). This councillor liked flattery and bribery ; and in these things he was imitated by others throughout Japan. Finally, by a movement in which Mito had a great share, he was obliged to resign : and Matsudaira Sadanobu, one of the best councillors ever known, took his place, and carried out a system of reform.

In 1792 the first Russian fleet came to Yezo. The government ordered all the important places in the maritime provinces to be strongly fortified. Therefore, the Prince of Mito not only fortified Hitachi, but he also made large ships, hired good captains from Nagasaki, and trained his subjects in military and naval affairs. He thought it very important to examine the condition of Yezo, in order to be able to protect that island against the Russians ; and he therefore sent a Mr. Kimura to Yezo to make such investigations.

Haruyasu was also a learned man, and wrote two or three books. He had what was a rare thing at that time,—a good knowledge of geography, astronomy and natural history. He died in 1805, received the title of Bunkō, and was succeeded by Harunori, born in 1773.

This prince, posthumously known as Bukō, liked reading, shewed great talent in writing Japanese poetry, and was a very skilful warrior. When he was very young, happening to see a small snake, he asked one of his attendants the name of that object. The attendant answered, that it was only a little animal, and need not be dreaded. Thereupon Harunori remarked, "Then you should not be afraid of me, as you are of my father." When he came to power, he forbid all bribery. Before his time various princes borrowed money from rich men, and occasionally, on account of the pressure of financial embarrassments, diminished by half the allowances of the *samurai* : but Harunori stopped such practices. He improved the army laws, and increased the military supplies.

In 1816, upon the death of Harunori, Narinaga, who had been born in 1797, came into power. In 1823, some

fishermen discovered a foreign ship off the coast of Hitachi, and had an opportunity to go aboard. In the ship they found many swords, guns, etc.; and they saw the crew getting oil from whales. When they returned to the shore, they notified the officers of these facts. So great alarm was felt throughout this province, and also in all the provinces on the eastern shore of this island, that soldiers were sent to the coast to guard against the expected invasion. During the same year twenty or more foreign ships were seen off Hitachi; and the next year twelve foreigners who had landed at the village of Ōtsu were seized. The excitement reached its highest point: but, upon the explanation of interpreters, that these men landed only to obtain water and fuel, the foreigners were released. Many young *samurai* were dissatisfied with what they called "a weak policy." But the prince, it is said, was not at all afraid, because he had previously learned from Japanese interpreters in Nagasaki the condition of foreign countries. He had also there learned that many foreign ships might subsequently come into Japanese waters, but that they would not prove dangerous, since they were only fishing-vessels.

This prince, known after his death as Aikō, was very fond of music, Japanese and Chinese poetry, and a connoisseur of old and rare works of art. He had his educational officers write a book upon the old customs of the gentry (*buke*), and a history of Mito from Ikō to Bukō. He was a strict, grave, but kind man, called by the people "a second Gikō;" and his early death in 1829, was greatly lamented.

Aikō had no son, but a brother named Nariaki. Before the death of the former, his ministers, Sakakibara, Akabayashi and others, took the power, and caused misgovernment. As they were afraid of the sagacity of Nariaki, they secretly concerted with a state-councillor, Mizuno Dewa-no-Kami, and formed a plan to make Shimizu-Kō, a son of the Shōgun, the heir of the Mito principality: but that plan became known to the public. Kawase, Aizawa, Fujita and others, indignant at this action, went to Yedo, and asked to

have Nariaki made the next Prince of Mito. In this they succeeded; and, when Nariaki came into power, he dismissed his brother-ministers, and took Fujita and other talented men in their places. This was the origin of the great "civil war" of Mito between the so-called *Kantō* (Wicked Party), consisting of the opponents of Nariaki, and the *Seitō* (Righteous Party), comprising Nariaki's friends. There was also a band of neutrals, called aptly the *Yanagitō* (Willow Party): but these are not especially mentioned in the chronicles of this strife. From the time of Nariaki's accession, the *Kantō*, being naturally offended, were planning to recover their power at the first opportunity, which, however, did not come for more than a decade. And as, after that time, the local contest became more or less connected with the great political agitations of the entire nation, I shall stop here to write a little about Nariaki's personal accomplishments and local policy.

He seems to have been a very learned, energetic and ambitious man. In the words of one of the pupils, he "personally took the work of governing with great diligence, so that the luxury which hitherto had possessed the minds of the people, left no trace in less than a year, and an air of simplicity and honesty was breathed in every place of country or city." He built a place called *Kōdōkan*, in which he instructed the *samurai* in civil and military subjects; and in this spot he planted 1,000 plum trees, which in their season still shed forth their beauty and fragrance. Before he retired and gave up the government of his clan to his successor, he laid out on the western edge of the city what is now known as the *Tokiwa Kōyē* (Tokiwa Park), and there he built for his comfort a house called the *Kōbuntai*. In one part of this retreat, which is beautiful beyond description, he set up a huge stone, containing a Chinese inscription, written by himself, and explanatory of the object of the *Kairaku-yen*. [For a translation of this inscription see Note B.] Adjoining this park is the Shintō temple, called the *Tokiwa jinja*, where Nariaki is enshrined as *Rekkō*, together with *Gikō*.

At first the opinions of Nariaki concerning public matters were gladly received by the *bakufu*. In regard to Yezo, he gave the wise advice that that island should be opened, settled and cultivated, because of its important position and prospective wealth. In connection with foreign affairs, he appears in history as the hater of foreign influence and the leader of the *Yōi* party: but I am not exactly satisfied in my mind as to the real motive of his policy. I have heard from a well-educated Japanese, whose name, however, I am not at liberty to mention, some statements which indicate that Nariaki was not at first so bitter an enemy of foreigners as he afterwards appeared to be. For he is said to have sent, through a Japanese who managed to get away to America, a letter inviting the Americans to come to Japan and attempt to open intercourse with the Japanese. This letter, moreover, brought to Japan by Commodore Perry, and sent by him to the Japanese government, is said to be now among the official archives. And, if we may believe the story, that after Nariaki's death among his personal effects were found a Bible and a picture of the Virgin Mary, it would seem that at some time or other he had also been studying Christianity. He is known, at any rate, to have been no great friend of Buddhism; for at one time "to provide the sinews of war, he seized the Buddhist monasteries, and melted down their enormous bronze bells and cast them into cannon" [Griffis.]. One of these cannon can now be seen at the Tokiwa Shintō temple above-mentioned.

Now I have no proofs of the truth of these reports, which are both affirmed and strenuously denied: but I give them so that they might, perhaps, be either proved or disproved if any one has good evidence. I am aware that, if they are true, they tend to make out Nariaki as inconsistent or demagogical. But it is not the historian's duty to show every one as an ideal personage: and it is especially difficult, in studying the history of those confused times in Japan during the last fifty years, to fathom men's motives. The JAPAN MAIL of April 1, 1889, in noticing editorially Mr. Fukuzawa's

"History of the Japanese Parliament," says concerning the part played by the *samurai* in the Revolution of 1868:—"Mr. Fukuzawa well describes how they hid their broader purpose under the *Yōi* battle-cry; how they coquetted with their liege lords and the Court at Kyōto; how they accomplished the overthrow of the Shōgunate and of feudalism, and how they became, rather by force of events than of set purpose, the pioneers of Western civilization." And surely in the history of that revolution, there is found no greater "inconsistency" than that of the Imperialists, who, having overthrown the Shōgunate "under the *Yōi* battle-cry," afterwards adopted for themselves the foreign policy which they had vehemently opposed! I am not, however, aware that political "inconsistency" is always a terrible sin; for in every country a Duke of Wellington, or a Sir Robert Peel, or an Earl of Derby, must sometimes yield to the power of public opinion. But it is not necessary to discuss this question any further, until the above-mentioned reports concerning Nariaki are proven either false or true: therefore, I pick up "the thread of my discourse."

In 1844 the *bakufu*, being envious of Nariaki, sequestered him and did not allow him to take part in any government affairs. Consequently Fujita and others of the *Seitō* were also sequestered; and Yūki and other *Kantō* men resumed power and opposed the policy of Nariaki. It was during this period, probably in 1848, that Nariaki retired from the active government of the clan in favor of his son, Yoshiatsu. In 1853, when, as one of the boys expressed it, "foreign ships were dancing near our islands," the Shōgun released Nariaki, and, recognizing his ability, ordered him to attend to the fortification of the maritime provinces. At that time also, Nariaki discovered the intrigues of the hostile faction (the *Kantō*), and advised his son not to employ their leader, Yūki. In 1855, at the time of the great earthquake in Yedo, Fujita was among the victims, but Nariaki escaped. This Fujita, by the way, was among the number of those who obtained a posthumous rank from the Emperor at the time of the promulgation of the Constitution. In the year

immediately following the earthquake, Nariaki was an adviser of the *bakufu*; but, as he had been appointed to that position only to satisfy public opinion, he had but slight influence. Yûki and others of the *Kantô*, seizing another opportunity, formed a conspiracy: but they were discovered, and put to death.

In 1858 the Shôgun (Iyesada) became sick and died without a proper heir. The Emperor and many Lords favored Nariaki's seventh son, Keiki, who had been adopted into the Hitotsubashi family: but the Prime Minister, Ii Kâmon no Kami, paying no regard to the opinion of the Princes of Owari and Echizen, made Iyemochi, the young Prince of Kii, Shôgun. In the eighth month of that year the Emperor sent orders to the Mito *Chûnagon* to help the *bakufu* to drive out the foreigners. But Ii, because he foresaw that, if the *samurai* had intercourse with the officers of the Emperor, they would obstruct the policy of the *bakufu*, was very angry. Therefore, he seized many persons, some of whom he put to death, and others he imprisoned. In 1859 Ii compelled Nariaki to retire again to Mito; and at the same time he tried to annul the order of the Emperor, but failed. In the 1st year of *Manyen* (1860), sixteen Mito *samurai* with one from Satsuma, as a student poetically expressed it, "scattered the crimson maple leaves in the white snow of the Sakurada;" in other words, at the Sakurada gate of the palace they assassinated the Prime Minister, Ii, who had always been the bitter enemy of Mito. In September of the same year, Nariaki ended his eventful career. His wife, known as Teihô-in, still survives, at the age of 86, and is hale enough to make a trip now and then to Mito and Zuiriû. She lives in Mukôjima, Tôkyô.

In 1861 some Mito men made an attack on the English Legation, then located in the Tôzenji, a Buddhist temple, in Takanawa; but they were repulsed. In the following year three Mito men were among the number of those who attempted at the Sakashita gate to assassinate the then Prime Minister, Andô Tsushima no Kami. After that the *bakufu*, regarding the current of public opinion, decided

that the Shōgun should go up to Kyōto the next year, to see the Emperor and settle the public policy. The Emperor sent an order to Yoshiatsu, of Mito, to come to Kyōto the next year with the Shōgun. Consequently in 1863 the Shōgun, and Yoshiatsu with him, went to Kyōto, where a council was held; but they failed to agree upon a policy. Only the Prince of Nagato (Chōshiu) supported the opinion of the Emperor and insisted on the *Yōi* policy.

From about this time all Japan began to be very much disturbed. To quote again from a pupil, "The fearful evening in Paris continued day after day in Japan." Fujita Koshirō, a son of the former Fujita, and a brother of one of the present secretaries of the Ibaraki *Ken*, was then a youth of only 23 or 24, but very active. He collected an army of *Seitō* men, and intended to make Nikkō a base of operations; but, failing in this, he took up a position on Mount Tsukuba. Ichikawa, the Kantō leader, getting an army from the *bakufu*, tried to dislodge Fujita; but he failed, and returned to Mito. Then Fujita, returning the compliment, attacked Ichikawa in Mito, but was repulsed. Yoshiatsu, the *daimyō*, wishing to reconcile these internal dissensions, sent to Mito as his representative Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, of Shishido. He came down with many soldiers: but Ichikawa, disliking many persons who were under Matsudaira's banner, refused to receive him, and fired on his party. Then Matsudaira, having effected a junction with the army of Fujita, went to Minato. Ichikawa, obtaining help from the *bafuku* of many thousand soldiers, several times defeated his opponents; and in Mito, becoming very haughty, imprisoned or killed the wife and children of many *Seitō* men. But one day Ichikawa sent a messenger to make peace, and allowed Matsudaira to enter Mito. But that was only a deep-laid trick, by which he obtained possession of the persons of several of his enemies. Matsudaira, because he had united with the Tsukuba army, and had fired at the soldiers of the *bafuku*, was sentenced to commit suicide by *hara-kiri*. Several of his attendants were beheaded; and many persons surrendered to Ichikawa and the *bakufu* army.

But Fujita and Takeda with a small force were still at large; and they now planned to make their way, via the Nakasendō, to Kyōto. Repulsing many attacks on the way, they arrived in January, 1865, at Imashō in Echizen. It was very cold; the snow was deep; food was scanty; they were very tired; and in front of them was the large army of the Prince of Kaga. Therefore they were obliged to surrender. The Princes of Kaga, Inaba, Bizen, Hamada, Shimabara, and Kitsuregawa, the last five of whom were brothers of the Prince of Mito, entreated the *bakufu* to pardon the captives; but in vain. Of the survivors 136 were banished, and 350 were put to death.

In 1867 Iyemochi, the Shōgun, died, and Hitotsubashi Yoshinobu, or Keiki, was made the successor. But the Revolution could no longer be prevented; and, before the year was out, Keiki had resigned his power to the Emperor, Mito, of course, at first sided with the party of the Shōgun, who was his own brother; but, when the latter resigned and became a royalist, Mito sent soldiers to Mutsu and Dewa, and shared in the victory of Hakodate. In 1868 Yoshiatsu died, and was known thereafter as Junkō; while his brother, Akitake, the eighteenth son of Rekkō, became the Prince of Mito.

The overthrow of the Shōgunate produced a complete reversal of the situation of affairs in Mito. Ichikawa and others of the *Kantō*, after making a vain attempt to find refuge in Aidzu, returned to Mito about 800 strong, and entered the Kōdōkan. The other faction, taking new hope, soon raised an army against them. Then, to quote once more from the poetically inclined student, "the men belonging to the two factions alternately attacked, defended, butchered till all the young men of steady heart sank to earth, all the magnificent buildings from the castle to the Kōdōkan turned to ashes, all splendor changed to the cry of evening ravens and to the song of night insects, leaving only plum-trees and monuments to reflect the old dream." The prosaic fact is, that the *Kantō* was defeated; and its leaders fled, but were finally captured. Ichikawa, when taken, was brought back

to Mito, and publicly crucified in broad daylight. Thus terminated the civil war, in which, according to the amazing statement of one of the students, "the good men were all killed!" Another very concisely wrote: "To-morrow of the storm there is nothing; only numerous poor widows."

In response to my inquiry concerning the objects and principles of the two factions, I received the following answer: "The aim of the *Seitō* was to obey the will of Nariaki, to improve military enterprises, to raise the glory of our country, to respect the Emperor, and to help the government: but the *Kantō* sought only wealth and pleasure through peace." This statement sounds rather one-sided, except possibly in the acknowledgement that the *Kantō* sought peace, which acknowledgement is, however, rather indefinite. Moreover, the very titles of the factions, "Wicked" and "Righteous," have the nature of a prejudgment. I can not learn that the *Kantō* gave themselves any particular appellation: but they called their opponents by the suggestive name of the *Tengutō*, (the Hobgoblin-party). In the absence, however, of sufficient material for forming a fair judgment, I refrain now from any further attempt at an historical analysis or criticism: but, if I have opportunity, I hope to make that civil war the subject of special study.

At the time when feudalism was abolished in Japan, Akitake returned his power to the Emperor, but served awhile after that as governor of his former principality. A few years ago he "retired from active life" (*inkyō suru*), and is now residing at Mukōjima in Tōkyō. He was succeeded as head of the Mito family by Marquis Tokugawa Atsuyoshi, the present Japanese Minister to Italy. Thus with Akitake ended the Tokugawa dynasty of Mito Princes after a sway of about 260 years. Two among them, Gikō and Rekkō, attained more than local fame; and these two have been called "the bright flowers of Japanese feudalism." During the first two centuries of this period Mito, though not rich, seems to have been quite famous and fairly prosperous. But the civil war was destructive of its power and prosperity; and the city and province are only now begin-

ning to recover from the evil effects. The castle was burned in 1873, perhaps by an incendiary, though it is not positively known. A disastrous conflagration in 1886 (December) proved also beneficial to the city in the subsequent erection of more attractive and substantial buildings. The people who not many years ago were opposed to communication with foreign countries, gave a cordial welcome, and have extended kind treatment, to the foreigners living with them. On the site of the castle stand the commodious modern buildings of the Ibaraki Common Normal School. Within the walls of the Kōdōkan, where formerly the *samurai* were instructed by Rekkō, and where afterwards the bullets of internecine strife whistled and left their impress, little boys and girls now gather daily at a Kindergarten. A railroad is now in successful operation; and business is improving. The inhabitants, therefore, indulge the hope, that the rising generation may restore Mito to at least a measure of the prosperity and influence which it enjoyed under the Tokugawa Princes.

[NOTE A.]

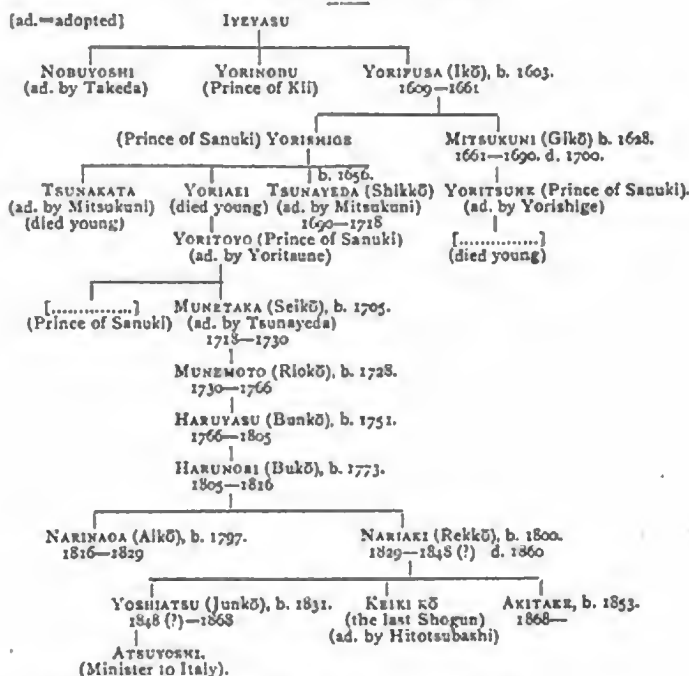
THE SEPULCHERS AT ZUIRIU.

The burial-ground of the Tokugawa Princes of Mito at Zuiriu is a spot of wild natural beauty. The sepulchers, of course, are artificial; but all else is as rough as nature itself. The road from Ūta is down-hill and up-hill. Just before you reach Zuiriu, on the right side of the road, is an immense cherry-tree, which was planted by Gikō about 200 years ago, and a shoot from which has become a large tree in front of the Kōdōkan in Mito. The parent tree bears the name *kata-sakura* (flag-cherry). At the entrance of the burial-ground, you must register at the keeper's office; then, procuring a guide for five *sen*, you climb rough stone steps to the first sepulcher. As the style of construction is the same in every case, I need describe it but once, and then shall mention the little difference in other respects.

To reach the enclosure of the tomb, you must ascend ten smooth granite steps; and then you can look through the railing, but can not enter. The monuments are of marble; and they stand, as you look in, with the prince on your left, and his wife on your right. In Junkō's

mausoleum there are three tombs, because his first wife died in her youth, and he married a second time. In Rekkō's mausoleum, which, with Ikō's, I did not visit on account of their distance from the others, there are two tombs: for, although Rekkō's wife is not yet dead, her sepulcher is ready. Each monument rests upon the back of a tortoise,* and is inscribed with only the name of the deceased. The enclosure contains no special decorations, except Bunkō's where a pine-tree grows, whose purpose I could not ascertain. The young princes of the family all lie buried in one compound; but there, with one or two exceptions, the tortoise is lacking. Below Gikō's sepulcher is a smaller tomb made by himself, and called *Bairi-sensei no haka* (The plum-village teacher's tomb). I was told that Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, who during the civil war was compelled to commit suicide, is also buried at Zuiriu; but I did not see his tomb. I have already mentioned the Chinaman's sepulcher, which is pretty, but plainer than the others, and lacks the tortoise. Having made the rounds, just as you come out where you entered, you pass on your left the store-house which is said to contain many interesting and valuable relics.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



* Symbol of long life (?)—Chinese idea.

[NOTE B.]

HISTORY OF THE KAIRAKU-YEN.

Over the heaven there hang the sun by day and the moon by night. On the earth rivers flow and mountains lie. Here all things, vegetable and animal, grow, thrive and propagate their species. This discharge of their functions is due to the positive and negative laws, which keep their own way, and to the cold and heat, which, coming alternately, never change their proper order. To take a more common illustration, if we wish to keep a bow in good condition, after we use it, we must take off the string. Likewise a strong blooded horse can not gallop many miles without stopping: unless we give him proper rest, he will soon become fatigued, or perhaps die.

Man is the most favored being, and is the highest and noblest of all creatures. But some are as pure and incorrupt as divinity; and some are as mean and ugly as beasts. Why such difference? "Human natures are much alike; but habits are quite different." The influence of habit is so powerful as sometimes to destroy the true nature. If men are accustomed to good things, they will become gentlemen: but, on the other hand, if they are cradled in bad habits, they will certainly become ruffians. Then it is beyond doubt that we should assiduously cultivate "the four virtues" (*shi-toku*),* study "the six arts" (*roku-gei*),† and occupy ourselves with our own business.

Yet our bodies are under the control of natural laws, like other beings (things?); and the strength and capacity of each person is quite different. Therefore, alternate strain and relaxation are very necessary for the perfect development of body and mind. By striving to keep our minds in purity, and by nursing our virtues to perfection, we should the more develop and broaden our character, which is quite different from that of other creatures. And, by promoting our health and by pleasing our hearts, we should lengthen our lives which are not different from those of others. Any person who keeps a good balance between these two ways can be called a good trainer of his body. Ah! then it was reasonable that Confucius agreed with the opinion‡ of Sōten, one of his scholars, and that Mencius praised the proverb§ of the Ka dynasty!

What time, then, and what things are best for the latter method?

* Benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom (*jīn-gi-ri-chi*).

† Etiquette, music, archery, horsemanship, penmanship, mathematics (*rei-gaku-sha-gyo-sho-iū*).

‡ What opinion, and what proverb?

The spring morning, when flowers are still sleeping in dew, and the autumn evening, when the moon has just uncovered her veil of cloud, are the best hours for the recreations of those who study. And hawking birds in the green summer fields, and chasing game in the bare winter woods, are the recreations best suited to those who cultivate military arts.

I have gone around through almost all parts of my province. I have visited many mountains and various rivers. To the west of the castle I have found an open spot, from which Mount Tsukuba is visible, and the quiet waters of Semba [lake] are seen from above. Yonder hills and knolls, which are concealed by white streaks of mist, and the neighboring country, mantled by a sheet of vivid verdure, embellished with mingled tints of forests, are laid out just in one picture. On the mountains there are growing vegetables and thriving animals; and in the water there are fishes and dragons (*riu, tatsu*). Indeed, this is a place which can give the utmost pleasure to both wise and kind persons.* It is, therefore, the place best suited to gratify our noblest pleasures.

Consequently, I planted several thousand plum trees, built two pavilions, cleared away the bushes, and brought stones. I not only intend to make this the place for my retirement; but I also wish to have my people enjoy themselves here, as I do. What a pleasant thing it would be, if they, following my principle, should not spend their time idly, but should cultivate their virtues, pay good attention to their occupations, and at their leisure bring their wives, children and friends; walk about the garden; write poems, sing songs and make music among the handsome flowers; drink wine or sip tea in the bright moon-shine; or fish in the lake! In short, they may enjoy themselves as much as they wish and take moderate relaxation. I am very glad, indeed, to share their enjoyment; and, therefore to make my purpose known, I call this garden the "*Kairaku-yen*."†

Tempō, tenth year [1839], fifth month. All composed and written by Keizan [*nom-de-plume* of Rekkō].

[On the back of the stone are inscribed the following RESTRICTIONS (*Kinjō*)].

It is forbidden to enter the park before six o'clock in the morning, or after ten o'clock in the evening. The two sexes are forbidden to take recreation together. Intoxication, disorderly conduct, and vulgar music are forbidden. It is forbidden to pick the flowers and fruits of the plum-trees in the park. It is forbidden to anyone, except a sick person, to ride in a *Kago* in the park. The regulations concerning fishing and hunting must not be violated.

* There is evidently a reference here to the Chinese sayings that "kind men, like mountains, are never moved," and "wise men, like running water, never become stagnant."

† *Kairaku-yen* is the equivalent of *tono ni ianoshimu sono*, which means "a garden for recreation together," and may be loosely translated "social enjoyment park."

[NOTE C.]

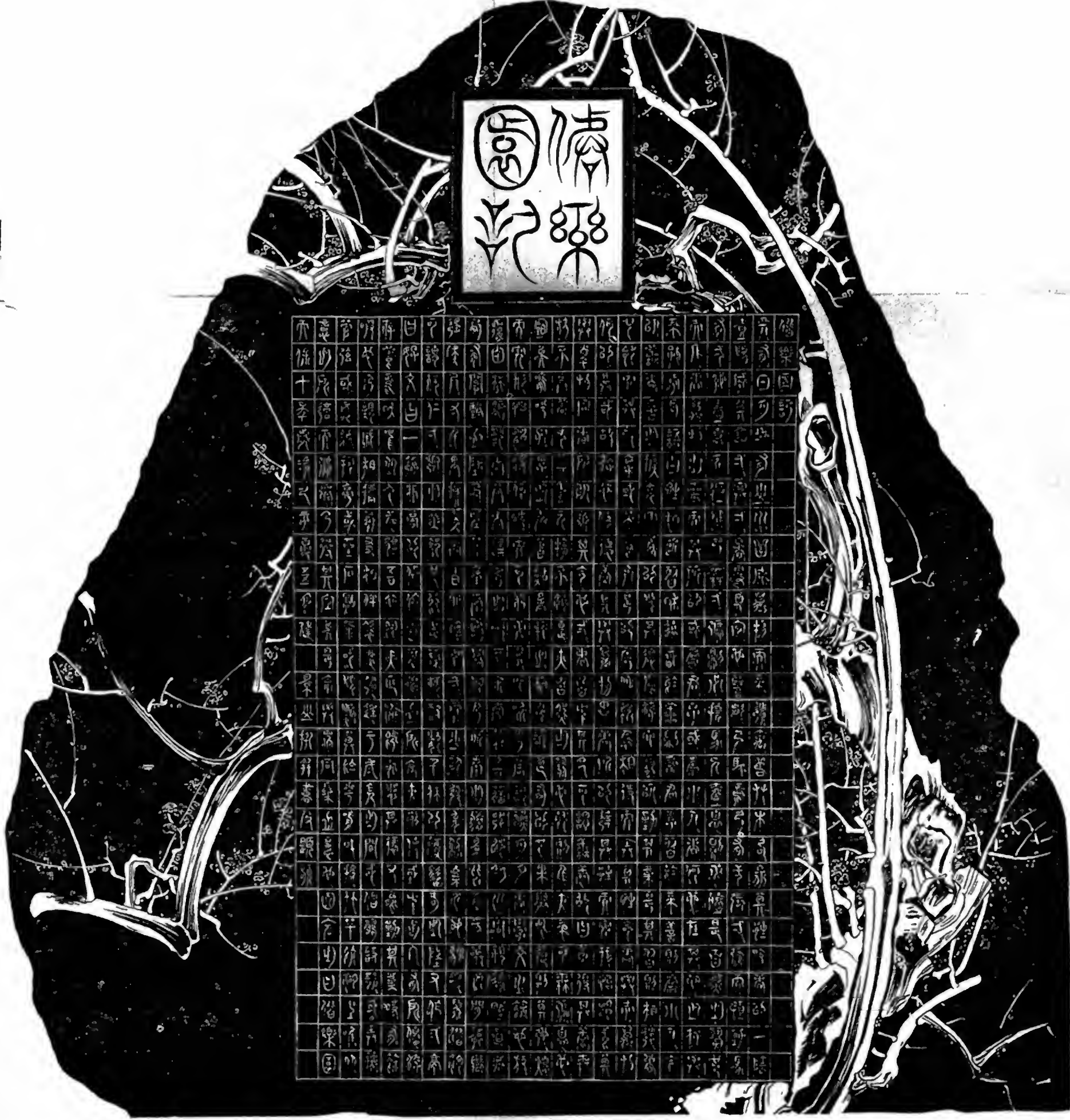
THE GRAVE AND RELICS OF SHINYETSU.

I visited the Gion temple the other day, and, by the kindness of the priest, was permitted to see not only the grave, but also many relics, of Shinyetsu. The grave is situated at the back of a small compound, which, as it bears on the front gates carvings of the Tokugawa crest, evidently belonged to that family. The monument is made of granite, and is quite plain. It is inscribed only in front, with the words *Fishō-kaishinyamatosho no tō*, which mean literally "Long life, prosperity, opening mind, great priest's tomb."

The relics are, of course, kept in the temple, and are about ten in number. The first one shown me is considered the greatest treasure of the temple. It is the gold seal, about 1,000 (?) years old, of Kangu, a famous Chinese warrior. The accompanying paper contains a drawing of the pagoda-like box in which it is kept, and an impression made with the original itself. There are also two strings of beads; one of 108, made of agate; the other of 54, made of *hōten*, a kind of pearl said to be found in the head of a thousand year old crane. A *hosu*, or short wand, is shown, with a horse-hair tassel attached. The priest's incense-box is very finely carved; and his baton (*nioi*), received from his teacher, is said to be 700 or 800 years old. His bronze mirror was first used by a Chinese Emperor (Gentoku) about 1,000 (?) years ago: and indeed, it is dim enough now to make that story credible. The back is carved with a figure of a dragon, which, instead of having three toes, as usually represented, has five toes, or claws, and is, accordingly, called *goso-hōkyō*. The mirror-box, with very thick lacquering, is all broken to pieces. There are also three *kakemono*, the first two of which are the work of Shinyetsu himself. One is a picture of Shaka, whose head is enveloped in a sun, as a symbol of prosperity. At the top is a short essay upon Shaka's countenance. The second is a picture of Daruma, who is represented with ear-rings. At the top is a short sketch of that saint's life. The third *kakemono* is very large, and contains only the drawing of a tiger. This was once the property of Gensō, a Chinese Emperor of the Tō dynasty. These relics were exhibited with pride and kindly explained to me by the present priest (Hagiya Shōho), who is the twenty-first in succession from Shinyetsu. The latter died in the eighth or ninth year of Genroku (1695 or 1696).



The seal of the Chinese Warrior, Kangu.



A Monument giving the history of the Kairakuen.

INSCRIPTION ON A STONE SET UP BY THE PRINCE OF MITO (REKKŌ)
NEAR THE ENTRANCE OF THE FIRST PARK.

借樂園記

天有日月地有山川曲成萬物而不遺禽獸草木各保其性命者以一陰一陽成其道一寒一暑得其宜也譬諸弓馬焉弓有一張一弛而恒勁馬有一馳一息而恒健弓無一弛則必撓馬無一息則必殞是自然之勢也夫人者萬物之靈而其所以或爲君子或爲小人者何也在其心之存與不存焉耳語曰性相近習相遠習於善則爲君子習於不善則爲小人今以善者言之擴充四端以修其德優遊六藝以勤其業是其習則相遠者也然而其氣稟或不能齊是以屈伸緩急相待而全其性命者與夫萬物何以異哉故存心修德養其與萬物異者所以率其性而安形怡神養其與萬物同者所以保其命也二者皆中其節可謂善養故曰苟得其養無物不長苟失其養無物不消是亦自然之勢也然則人亦不可無弛息也固矣嗚呼孔子之與曾點孟軻之稱夏綏良有以也果由此道則其弛息而安形怡神將何時而可耶必其吟詠花晨飲宴月夕者學文之餘也放鷹田野驅獸山谷者講武之暇也余嘗就吾藩跋涉山川周視原野直城西有開豁之地西望筑峰南臨仙湖凡城南之勝景皆集一瞬之間遠樹遙巖尺寸千里攢翠疊白四瞻如一而山以發育動植水以馴擾飛潛洵可謂智仁一趣之樂郊也於是藝梅樹數千株以表慰春之地又作二亭曰好文曰一遊非啗以供他日羨憩之所蓋亦欲使園中之人有所優遊存養焉園中之人苟體吾心夙夜匪懈既能脩其德又能勤其業時有餘暇也乃親戚相携朋友相伴悠然逍遙于二亭之間或唱酬詩歌或弄撫管絃或展紙揮毫或坐石點茶或傾瓢樽於華前或投竹竿於湖上唯從意之所適而弛張乃得其宜矣是余與衆同樂之意也因命之曰借樂園

天保十年歲次己亥夏五月建

景山撰并書及題額

SPECIMENS OF AINU FOLK-LORE.

VIII.*

A LEGEND OF LOVE AND WAR.

BY THE REV. JNO. BATCHELOR.

[Read 4th December, 1889.]

KUNNEPET UN MAT
OMA YUKARA.

THE LEGEND OF THE LADY
OF KUNNEPET.

Shinutapka ta usshiu ne There was a person who
guru iresu hine oka an. was reared as a slave¹ at

* Legends I.—VII will be found in Vol. XVI., Pt. II. of the Transactions of this Society, pp. 111—150.

¹ The word here translated "slave" is, in Ainu, a compound noun *Usshiu ne guru*. By comparing it with itself in certain other places in legends where it occurs, always, of course, taking the context into consideration, we are led to the conclusion that it really refers to persons who have been taken prisoners during war or in night raids. We learn from the Ainus that it used to be the custom of their ancestors when at war with one another to kill as many male adults as possible and take the women and children for "slaves" and concubines. All these were called by the word here translated "slaves." However, the hero of the present legend appears to have been a "lad in waiting" or "page," something after the manner, only greatly modified, of course, of the old chivalric times in Europe. Elsewhere he is called by a word meaning "the brave Ainu;" hence from these two names we are led to adopt the opinion that he was the son of a female prisoner or slave by her master, though he may have been only a son of two slaves born in the house. All children born in a person's house, whether they were the natural offspring of the master or the slave, were alike counted as members of one family and accompanied their lord on his war expeditions. Hence what would appear quite unnatural to us, namely, that a "slave" should go to war on his own account, would be quite natural among the Ainus.

Kopaketa inn an hike Kunnepet kotan ta pirika shiwen-tep an wa an gusu asuru oroge hopuni. Tap ambe gusu shineanda akoro usshin ne guru shuke hine, ibe an hine, orowa no po, uokkane kut ayaikoshaye, kamui range-tam akutpoki unu, kaparape kasa rantupepi ayaikoyupu; orowa no, omaiso kata hopuni rera irorikipuni rikun shuika ayaipokare; ituren kamui ikurukashike hum-rarire; kamui mau etok aehopuni Kunnepet kotan ko-

*Shinutapka.*² Now, once upon a time he heard it noised abroad that there was a lady residing at Kunnepet³ who was famous for her beauty. So, one day, after he had cooked and eaten some food, our slave buckled on his belt,⁴ stuck his trusty sword into his girdle, and fastened on his helmet; then, being taken up by the winds which arose from the head of the fireplace,⁵ he was hastily carried through the upper window;⁶ and his in-

² *Shinutapka*, elsewhere called *Shinutapkashi* is the ancient name of some mountains in the north of Yezo, distant from Ishkari about ten or twelve Japanese *ri*, and is said to have been the home of a race of especially brave Ainu warriors. Upon the highest point of this mountain there is said to be the remains of one of their old forts still in existence. However this may be, it is certain that *Shinutapka* enters very much into the Ainu legends, and the people of the present day point to the districts of Ishkari and Mashki as the locality of these famous mountains. *Shinutapka* means "the top of the very high mountain peak."

³ The name *Kunnepet* means "the black river," but it seems that no one now knows the locality or river which once bore this name.

⁴ The word translated "belt" is, in Ainu, *Uokkane kut* whose exact meaning is "girdle with metal fastenings." This would seem to show us that the Ainus used to wear "belts" rather than the girdles they have now. In fact, the word cannot be applied to any kind of girdle unless it has either a buckle or a hook and eye at the ends.

⁵ The head of the fireplace (i.e. that part of a hut between the fireplace and east window) is sacred. It is here especially that the great drinking-bouts are held.

⁶ The "upper window" here referred to is a hole left in the west end of a hut for the purpose of allowing the smoke to escape. Some of the Ainus, however, those of Ishkari for example, have the aperture left in the south side of the roof.

pake sama aituye.

spiring⁷ guardian god having rested upon him with a sound, he went before the mighty winds⁸ till he arrived at the village of Kunnepet.

Kunnepet un mat otta arapa an. Inukan rokbe tu chish-wenbe yaiekote. Kuru-kashike itak omara ene oka-

So he came to the lady of Kunnepet. When he looked at her he saw that she was weeping⁹ very exceedingly.

7 The Ainu words I have translated "inspiring gods" are full of deep theology, and cast a side-light upon Ainu religious ideas. They show us that the Ainu race is a deeply religious one. The words are *ituren Kamui*. *Kamui* means "God" or "gods." *Turen* signifies "to be inspired by the gods" as when a prophet prophecies; "to be possessed with a devil;" "to be afflicted with disease as a punishment for evil;" "to receive special blessings from the gods;" "to have God's protection" as when engaged in some great and dangerous undertaking. The particle *i* prefixed to *turen* intensifies its meaning. Hence in this particular place *ituren Kamui* really means "the inspiring, guiding, guarding, keeping, protecting gods." Such words as these speak for themselves as regards the religious instincts of the Ainus. I may as well note in passing that every Ainu household is supposed to have its special guardian god. It is called *Turen Kamui*, and is thought to sit upon the roof the house when the master is at home, but to accompany him when he goes on a journey. So here, our hero was accompanied by his "inspiring, guardian god."

8 The words "mighty wind" are, in the original, "the winds of god." When the Ainus desire to express greatness, mightiness, beauty and such like ideas they often use the word *Kamui*, "god." Thus for "great trees" we hear "trees of God;" for "high mountains" we have "mountains of God;" for "beautiful flowers, "flowers of God," for "great rivers," "rivers of God," and here for "Mighty winds" we find "winds of God." We can thus understand that "bears" are called "animals of God" because they are to the Ainus the "Kings of the forest."

When it is said that he went before the "Mighty winds" or "the winds of God" we must remember that the Ainus have an idea that their ancestors had power, by the help of their *Turen Kamui*—"inspiring guardian gods," to fly through the air or even to wage war in the air. These particular "winds of God" may therefore be called "delightful, pleasant winds" with as much propriety as "mighty winds."

9 The words "weeping very exceedingly" are, when translated literally, "two bad weeps." Severity or excessiveness are often expressed in Ainu by "two or three" or "twice or thrice." Thus, "he was struck twice or thrice" sometimes means "he was severely beaten;" and, as here, "she had two bad weeps" we get "she wept very exceedingly," or "she wept exceeding bitterly."

hi:—"Rikun kando ta kan-na kamui tu iriwak ne; pone-une hike ashinuma patek iyaikotomka. Tambe gusu, tane ariki wa ikoro kusu ne. Kopaketa heta, Poiyaumbe, e ariki yakka ikore aikap; yakka, shuke an ehiki ibe poka ki yan;" sekoro itak koro, pirika pon shu hoka tuika eterekere; umshu pirikep shu oro konna echopopo; otupera shipi kane pirika amam yan ayange; kaparape itangi kaparape otchike uwerooshiki; poro shonapi ikopumba; kuru-kashike aakonomse.

Still shedding tears, she spake and said:—"The thunder-gods who live in the heavens above are two in number,¹⁰ and the younger of them does nothing but make advances to me and is about to marry me. This being so, O Poiyaumbe,¹¹ we cannot marry though you have come for me; nevertheless I will cook¹² some food that you may eat." When she had so said she swung a pretty little pot over the fire and put some of her choice treasured-up food into it. She then dipped in her ladle and stirred up the delicious food. Next she took a pretty eating cup and set it upon a beautiful tray; then, heaping it up high, carried it to him and bowed profusely.

10 We are here let into the secret of Ainu ideas concerning thunder. In bodily form the thunder gods are supposed to resemble men, and they have the same kind of affections as human beings. It will also be seen later on that they speak with the language of men. Nor, speaking from what we know of other so called Ainu gods, must we suppose that the thunder-gods are all males and but two in number, for analogy would lead us to conclude that the Ainus consider the thunder-gods to be very numerous and to marry and be given in marriage and therefore to be of both sexes. Though they may be born they can never die. Thunder itself is caused by the movements of these gods.

11 Poiyaumbe means "the brave Ainu" or "the brave hero." The Ainus sometimes call Yezo by the name *Ya un moshiri* so that *Ya un guru* or *Yaumbe* comes to mean "an Ainu." This term was discussed in Vol XVI., Pt. II., p. 147, note 1, of the Transactions of this Society.

12 The lady of Kunnepet says she would cook some food for her visitor. It would be considered a great breach of etiquette and very forward in a young woman to do such a thing for a bachelor unless she was commanded to do so by her guardians or parents. This is perfectly natural because part of the Ainu marriage ceremony consists in the act of the bride cooking food and giving it to her betrothed.

Pon no pon no ae rapo-
keheta rikun shuka ta retara
imeru chaunaraye. Nekon
kat korobe iteme-ni ka cho-
range. Ingar' an ruwe ene
ani: Kunnepet un mat ak-
kari ka pirika shiwentep
retan' nishinda upshoroge
chorari. Ipot'tum konna
chueshuye; kurukashike itak
omare ene oka-hi:—"Poi-
yaumbe, itak an chiki non-
nere yan. Ashinuma horo-
keu kamui kot tureshi a ne
ruwe ne. Ashinuma apiri-
kare mat Kunnepet un mat
ne ruwe ne; akoro yupi
apirikare guru e ne ruwe ne.
Oka an, awa, Kunnepet un
mat e koshinewe newa ambe
kanna kamui rushka gusu
wen tumiram e koarikire.
Tane ki kusu ne. Wen
shiwentep a ne yakka iki
kashichiobiuki a ekarakara
gusu ek an na. Retan' ni-

When he had but just
commenced to eat, flashes
of white¹³ lightning came
through the upper window
and hung upon the beams in
curious forms. Upon look-
ing up he saw a lady even
more beautiful than the lady
of Kunnepet, reclining in a
white chariot.¹⁴ She had
anger depicted upon her
countenance; and, in her
wrath said:—"O Poiyaumbe
listen to me for I have some-
thing to say. I am the
younger sister of the wolf-
god and the benefactress of
the lady of Kunnepet, whilst
you are watched over by my
elder brother.¹⁵ This being
so, I am here to tell you that
the thunder-god is angry
with you for coming to visit
this lady and is going to
make grievous war against
you. Nay, the war is at

13 The Ainus consider white to be the best and purest colour. It is the colour of the gods and all that is good, whilst black is supposed to represent evil and the devil. I once saw an Ainu corpse with its feet clothed in white rags which we had sometime before given to a person to dress some wounds with. It was thought that the white rags would assist the dead in its journey to heaven.

14 The word here translated *chariot* now means *cradle*, but in this legend *chariot* suits the sense better. The chariot is conceived of as being suspended from above by means of strings and cords in the same way as the Ainus suspend their cradles from the roof of their huts.

15 Here we have the curious idea that the use of animals is partly to watch over human beings. Thus the male wolf was the guardian of Poiyaumbe, our hero, whilst the female wolf protected the Lady of Kunnepet. We can therefore partly understand why the Ainus worship animals and offer libations of wine to them.

*shinda upshororoge oshirai-
ba yan," sekoro itak.*

*Tambe gusu, retan nishin-
da upshororoge aoshiraiba. Nei a shinda rikun shuika
chipekare. Tap orowa no nei
a shinda atu koshiwawatki,
kohummumatki. Paye an
aine, pet etokta kamui nupuri
nupuri tapka aoshikiru.
Paye an koro, ingar'an ruwe,
range kando nish tek-santa
retar' imeru kunne imeru
uweshikaye chiranarange.
Ingar'an ruwe, kunne ni-
shinda shinda upshotta aye
rok heta kanna kamui ara-
kotomka pon ainu pon guru
oka ruwe ne. Kanna ka-
mui kot'tureshi arakotomka
pon shiwentep shinda kik-
bera yaikokarakara shinda
geshi wa shinda pa wa kik-*

hand. Though I am a worthless¹⁶ woman, I have come to assist you. Get into my white chariot;" so spake the younger sister of the wolf-god.

So he got into the chariot, which immediately went out of the upper window. Then the trappings¹⁷ of the chariot whistled and rattled. As they went on their way, they skirted the mountains towards the source of the river, and, proceeding along, they saw white and black lightning playing about in the clouds of the lower¹⁸ heavens. As he was looking at it, he saw the aforementioned thunder-god sitting in a black chariot; he was unmistakably a very little man. There too sat a little woman, who, without doubt, was his younger sister. She held a wand in her hand; with

16 The goddess does not mean to say that she is of no account; but to call oneself "worthless" and "bad" is Ainu etiquette, though probably originally borrowed from their Japanese neighbours.

17 These trappings are simply the cords by which the chariot was suspended from heaven.

18 "The lower heaven." The Ainus consider the heavens to be three in number. The first in order is called *Shi-nish kando*, "the greatest skies;" this is supposed to be the home of the chief of the gods, i.e. the Creator. The second order of heavens is called *Nochiu-o kando*, "the skies which bear the stars;" the second order of gods is supposed to dwell here. The last or lowest heavens are named *range kando* or *urara kando*, i.e. "the hanging skies" or "the fog skies;" the lowest orders of gods and some of the demons, especially the demons of thunder, are supposed to live here.

*kik-kikkik ne-hi horachi me-
tot shokuruka eshishuye.*

*Kanna kamui koro wen
buri enankurukashi chipara-
sere; kurukashike itak omare
ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu,
Poiyaumbe, itak an chiki,
pirika no nu. Kunnepet un
mat aande machi koshinewe
kokininpashte e ki gusu,
tumi moto ne akara wa gusu
ne na. Ikineipeka, iki ok-
kaiyo, enanrapoki ekari na;"*
*sekoro itak koro, yupke
tamkuru ikoterekere. Shi-
riki awa; retan nishinda
shinda notak tam oshma
humi taukosanu. Pak no
ne koro, itasa pakno amut
emushi anochutekka, itasa
pakno kanna kamui yupke
tamkuru akoterekere; iki an
rokbe; kunne nishinda tam
chash ine shindu notak rik-
nashuye rannashuye, shinda
asam shinda notak tam osh-
ma humi tu kane tam sep
taunatara.*

*Tap orowa no tan kamui
humi moshiri shokata turi-*

which she continually struck first one end of the chariot and then the other, as they hung and waived about over the tops of the mountains.

The thunder-god, having anger expressed upon his countenance, said:—"Look here, O Poiyaumbe, listen well to me for I have something to say. You have been paying your addresses to and flirting with the lady of *Kunnepet*, whom I have determined to take to myself as wife. I take this as a cause for war. Be very careful, my fine fellow, for I will bring down your haughty books." When he had so spoken, he set upon him mightily with his sword; so that his blows rattled upon the sides of the white chariot. Upon this Poiyaumbe also drew his sword and set upon the thunder-god as determinately as he was attacked by him. So they fought with might and main, but the black chariot rose and fell to meet the attack. So that the blows of the sword upon its sides and floor sent forth a clashing sound.

And now there was a tremendous roaring sound of

mimse. Tap an kamui mau moshiri shokata kunne hene tokap hene tumi an patek ki rok ine, tu wan chup konin ukoiki an koro kanna kamui ene itak-hi:—

"Ainu moshit'ta ukoiki an wa ingar'an hike, Ainu moshiri shirar' ikkeu eun moshiri ne rok oka; ukoiki an aine shiran'ne gusu, moshiri ikkeu shingikashpa, moshiri aeyam ki an na. Keke, hetak, rikun moshi'un kane ikkeu eun moshiri rikun kando ne gusu, oota paye anro; ukoiki anak, moshiri aeyam shomoki no po ukoiki an na," sekoro itak.

Kando kotoo koshietaye; seturu kashike ayairarire. Horokeu kamui kot'tureshi shinda kik-bera yaikokara-kara. Shinda pa wa shinda gesh wa kikkik-kikkik' ne-hi korachi. Ane shinda at koshiwiwatki, rue shinda at kohummumatki, Kunne ni-shinda seturu kashike ayairarire. Kando apa makke humi serekosanu. Iyokake un kando apa uruki humi naikosanu. Ingar'an ruwe ene oka—hi, pirika moshiri

thunder over the world, together with a mighty wind blowing; and both day and night they did nothing but fight. After the war had raged for twice ten months, the god of thunder said:—

"I observe that as we fight upon this land in which men dwell, we are wasting and wearing out the country, for, as you see, its foundations (back-bones) consist of rocks; we ought to be more careful of the world. Now then, come, the foundations (backbones) of the world above are made of iron, let us go up there and fight; for there we may wage war without having any regard to the spoilation of the place." So spake he.

He then withdrew into the air and I followed close behind him. The younger sister of the wolf-god, having the wand in her hand, continued to strike first one end and then the other of the chariot. The thin trappings whistled and the thick trappings rattled, as the white chariot followed close upon the black one. The gates of heaven opened with a sound, and, having passed through, were shut upon us with an-

chishiri-anu, pirika pon pet sanru konna maknatara. Pet pishkani kane kom-nitai chieanukara. Moshiri kuru-kashi rakrak paye. Kanna kamui ene itak-hi:—"Tan moshiri son no rikun moshiri ne ruwe tap an. Kane ik-keu eun moshiri ne ruwe ne gusu, orota anak ne tu pa hene re pa hene tumi ayakka moshiri ikkeu shomo aeyum ki ruwe tap an. Tambe son no urametok uwande an hi gusu ne na."

Sekoro itak koro, ashiri-kinne yupke tamkuru ikoterekere; itasa pakno yupke tamkuru akoterekere ki koroka iki; kunne nishinda shinda notak tamchash ine, tu kane tamsep taunatara, nei-hi korachi, akoro shinda itasa pakno shinda asam tamchash ine ariknepuni, tu kane temsep taunatara. Tap orowa no, rikun moshiri moshiri paketa moshiri keseta arutam kochupu aki, aine, hunak paketa kane chisei puta un chisei okai ine, chisei enkashi arutam kochupuchupu; iki an rokbe; kane chisei upshor'un kamui itak

other noise. Now, what we saw was on this wise. A splendid country lay before us and a very beautiful waterway opened up to our view. On the sides of the river were forests of magnificent oaks, and the clouds upon the horizon were floating gently along. Now, the thunder-god said:—"This country is, in truth, the high heaven. Its foundations consist of iron so that if we fight here for two or three years we need have no fear of damaging it. This is indeed a place in which we can especially measure our strength."

Having so said, he set upon me mightily with his sword, and I too turned upon him as fiercely. Nevertheless, the edge of the black chariot clashed against the sword and warded off the blows, so there was only the sound of clashing iron. In the same way our white chariot, also rising up and guarding with its floor, sent forth a clashing sound. And now, fighting fiercely, we chased each other from one end of heaven to the other, till at length we chanced to pass over a metal house which was covered in with a lid, and,

han naikosamba ene okaihi:—

"Ingara gusu, Poiyaumbe, hanna kamui, itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Son no ka un, Ainu moshiri shirara ikkeu eun moshiri ne rok oka; rikun moshiri kane ikkeu eun moshiri ne ruwe ne. Rikun moshitta echi ukotumi koro ki rok ine, rikun moshiri kane ne gusu shingi hine seisek a an moshiri, aeyam ki ruwe ne na. Keke, Ainu moshiri imakaketa iwan moshiri an ruwe ne. Naa imakaketa pirika moshiri an ruwe ne. Nei moshiri reihei Chirama moshiri ne ruwe ne. Nei moshiri anak toitoi ikkeu eun moshiri ne ruwe ne. Nei moshir'otta echi paye wa echi ukoiki yak eashiri, moshiri aeyam kotan aeyam shomoki na," sekoro kane kamui itak hau naikosamba.

Kanna kamui tam rauechui, ashinuma ka atam rauechui. Tap orowa no senram sekoro kando apa ayaipekare. Tap orowa no shuwanu chikap ahorokashui rapan, aine,

¹⁹ Chirama means "lowest."

over this we stayed and fought; whilst doing so, there came forth a voice from the inside of the house which said:—

"Look here, O Poiyaumbe and thunder-god, I have something to say, so pay attention. It is indeed true that the foundations of Ainu-land are rocks, and it is also true that the foundations of heaven above consist of metal. But as ye continue to carry on your battles here, heaven has grown weary and waxed hot for the reason that its foundations are iron. Ye should be careful. Now then, come, underneath Ainu-land there are six countries, and beneath these again there is another, a beautiful land. The name of that country is *Chirama*,¹⁹ and its foundations consist of earth. Go ye to that land and fight, for unless ye do, our country and villages will be all spoiled." So sounded forth the voice of God.

Upon this the thunder god sheathed his sword and I also sheathed mine. Then, as we entered heaven, so we went out—with a rush. We passed down through space

akoro moshiri achoposore, imakaketa iwan moshiri an ruwe ne. Nei a moshiri aak-kari wa paye an koro, son no poka, pirika moshiri aye rok kuni, Chirama moshiri aarakotomka moshiri kuru-kashi aiyorapte.

Tap orowa no, nei a moshiri moshiri paketa moshiri keseta senram sekoro arutam kochupuchupu au ki koroka iki, inan hembara iki yakka kunne nishinda shinda notak shinda asam tamchash ine rikuapuni rannashuye emko gusu tu kane tamsep taunataru. Itasa pakno retan nishinda shinda asam shinda notak kik-humbe ne arikuapuni. Neita pakno kanna kamui sattumama akoiki hike, atuye shiri shomo ne wa an. Tambe gusu aranratki no kunne nishinda shinda atu aeyairamkuru shitokere. Nei a shinda at yupke tamkuru akoterekere, iki an rokbe, Kamui rengaine nei a shinda at atuye humi naikosanu. Itasa pakno retan, nishinda shinda atu tuiba humi naikosamba. Moshiri shokata akon nishinda horaochiwe. Kunne nishinda shinda upshoro wa Kunne kamui

head-first, like snipes, and, piercing our land, we went through six countries. Having done this, we came, as we were told we should, to a truly beautiful country; without doubt this was *Chirama*-land, upon which we had descended.

And now we chased one another from one end of the country to the other, fighting, as before, most fiercely. Nevertheless, whenever and however we fought, the black chariot rising, falling, and swinging to and fro, kept off my blows with its sides and floor, so that the result was nothing but the sound of clashing metal. In the same way the white chariot also rose up and fenced the blows with its sides and floor like a shield. However much I strove, I could by no means touch the body of the thunder-god. I therefore aimed at nothing but to cut the trappings by which the black chariot was suspended. And fighting hard with this intent, I was able, after a time and by the help of God, to sever them. So, too, all the trappings of our white chariot were cut asunder. We therefore all fell down to the

*chisoekatta, moshiri shokata
tek kuwapo echararase.*

*Kanna kamui tureshi-hi
tu peken'nupe yaikorange;
kurukashike itak omare ene
okai-hi:—"Akoro yupi, ka-
mui e ne wa gusu rikun mo-
shitta kamui shiwentep e
koro yak ne, Poiyaumbe ka-
mui ramielok tura no echi
ukokoiki shomo kip tap an.
Nep kara gusu Kunnepet un
mat patek shiwentep ne abe
koro oshikkote e ki ya gusu!
Tane anak ne aenupurube
kunne nishinda chikowende
kara aekarakara shiri ne wa,
hayokbe sak no po ukoiki an
na. Ikineipeka Poiyaumbe
anrapoki ekari na," sekoro
okaibe kanna kamui kot'ture-
shi chish tuikata ye ruwe
ne.*

*Pakno ne koro, Horokeu
kamui kot'tureshi shinnatoi
ne ukotumi koro, arutam
kochupu kane; rapoketa,
kanna kamui yupke tamkuru
akoterekere. Itasa pakno
yupke tamkuru ikoterekere.
Arutam kochupuchupu aki-
hi nei no ukattuima no sat-
tumama anotaui kara nei-*

ground. Then the thunder-
god got out of his black
chariot and came to me,
walking by the help of his
hands.

Upon this the younger
sister of the thunder-god
shed many tears and said:—
"Oh 'my elder brother, you
are a god; and if you would
but marry a goddess you
would have no need to carry
on this fierce combat with
Poiyaumbe. Why do you
set your affections on this
Lady of Kunnepet as though
she were the only woman?
Now our²⁰ charmed black
chariot has been quite bro-
ken up and you are as one
fighting without armour. Be
careful or Poiyaumbe will
slay you." So spake the sister
of the thunder-god through
her tears.

After she had said this, the
sister of the wolf-god went
out and fought against her.
Then the thunder-god set
upon me most fiercely and I
returned the attack just as
vehemently. Thus fighting
together, I managed with
great difficulty to strike him
now and then, so that his gar-

²⁰ The chariots were, we learn, charmed and acted as shields to the combatants.

hi korachi, mi-kosonde otu-konniki ore-konniki arapte-rapte. Seenne eannu itasa pakno ami kosonde kosonde penram otukonniki sapte kane. Nei rapoketa, Chirama moshiri moshiri paketa pase kamui ek hum konna turimimise keurototke. Hontomota Kunnepet un mat tane an pirika shioarawenrui; tu peken'nube yaikorapte. Horokeu kamui tek sam oroge osanosan. Tap orowa no kanna kamui kot'tureshi yupke tamkurn koterekere. Tu tam iwordo re tam iwordo aeterekere ki rok hine, kanna kamui kot'tureshi tup ne rep ne ausatuye; kamui inotu hopuni humi keurototke turimimise. Shiknu kamui ne rikun moshir'un arapa humi keurototke, kashokake chak-kosamba'.

Pakno ne koro, Kunnepet un mat horokeu kamui kot'tureshi tu ne hine isamta ariki; orowa no kanna kamui ren a ne hine akotumi koro. Iki an aine, kanna kamui tup ne rep ne ausatuye. Inotu oroge hopuni humi keurototke, Chirama moshiri moshiri keseke humninkeshte; iki rok ine, ashiri kamui ne rikun moshiri un arapa humi

ments were hanging about him in rags. But he was not to be beaten; for he also in like manner cut my clothes into many pieces. Whilst things were going on so, a mighty sound as if the true gods were coming to us, issued forth from the east of Chirama-land, and all at once my Lady of Kunnepet, more beautiful than ever, and shedding many tears, alighted and came to the side of the wolf-god. And now the sister of the thunder-god fought mightily, but after two or three final struggles, she was cut down and slain. Her divine spirit roared loudly as it ascended into the skies. She went up to heaven a living goddess; and, when she had departed the roaring ceased.

After this my Lady of Kunnepet, in company with the sister of the wolf-god came to my side and we three together fought against the thunder-god. So that after a time he was, though with difficulty, cut down and slain. His spirit roared as it went up; but, as it was not possible for it to go into the western²¹ end of Chirama-land it as-

21 i.e. To die.

*ehum-rikipuni kane, kasho-
kake chashkosamba.*

*Pakno ne koro Kunnepet
un mat horokeu kamui kot'-
tureshi utamteshbare. Oro-
wa no akoro moshir'un ariki
an aine Kunnepet un mat
koro kotan ta ariki an hine,
horokeu kamui kot'tureshi
ene itak-hi:—"Kamui a ne
gusu, ashinuma anak kamui
hoku akon nangoro, eani
anak ne ainu e ne gusu
Kunnepet un mat ekon nan-
goro ruwe ne na. Akoro
yupih horokeu kamui piri-
kare guru e ne ruwe ne.
Tande wa no iteki lumi no
tonoto ekoro koro inao e kara
wa horokeu kamui enomi
yak ne pirika na."*

*Sekoro itak koro, arapa
hum keurototke. Okake an
koro, tanepo sou no Kunnepet
un mat pirika shuke eyaimon-
pok tushmak kane, pirika
amam okettektek, kaparape
itangi kaparape otchike uwo-
iroshki, poroshonabi ikopum-
ba, kurukashike aukomom-
se; ae hine shonabi arake
Kunnepet un mat akorutrutu,
rik uiruke ra uiruke e wa*

cended to the high heavens
with a great noise. It went
up a new god and then the
sound died away.

When all was over, my
Lady of Kunnepet and the
younger sister of the wolf-god
saluted one another with
their swords, and then, after
we had come to our country
and to the village of Kunne-
pet, the sister of the wolf-god
said:—"As I am a goddess,
I must take a husband from
among the gods, but as you
are a man, it would be well
for you to marry the Lady of
Kunnepet. Now, you are
watched over by my elder
brother the wolf-god, so
henceforth do no more fight-
ing, but when you have wine,
be careful that you make
some *inao*²² and offer liba-
tions to the wolf-god."

When she had finished
speaking, she departed with
a great sound. Then my
Lady of Kunnepet worked
away with a willing heart
and great pleasure, and, hav-
ing prepared food, she heaped
up very full a pretty cup, and,
setting it on a beautiful tray,
brought it to me with many
bows. After eating a little
of it, I pushed the remainder

²² Pieces of whittled willow wood.

<p><i>okere, orowa no Kunnepet</i> <i>un mat pirika so kara hine,</i> <i>akoro hine shiroma no po</i> <i>oka an.</i></p>	<p>to her and she, lifting it up and down in thankfulness, finished it.²³ Then, when the meal was over, my Lady of Kunnepet proceeded to set the house in order and we have lived happily ever since.</p>
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²³ i.e. The marriage ceremony was concluded and they were married.

IX.

I

KOTAN UTUNNAI OMA YUKARA.

*Akoro sapo iresu hine ram-
ma kane okan ruwe ne. Ire-
su ruwe ene ani:—Pon mun
chisei upshororoge ioresu wa
oka an. Rapokehe nep ka-
mui ukoiki humi-hi moshiri
pishkan turimimse. Tu
kamui rai hum re kamui rai
hum charugesande.*

*Tane anak ne pon no poro
an koro, orowa no, ene hum
ash-hi; akoro mun chisei tap
kashi Yaunguru kamui ukat-
tuima no kohum arikire.
Iyetunangara ituren kamui
mun chisei tap ka kohum
epushi.*

LEGEND OF KOTAN UTUNNAI.¹

I was brought up by my elder sister² and was always kept at home. I was reared in this way:—The house in which I was kept was a small one made of grass. While being brought up, I heard a noise of war as if the gods were fighting on every side of us. There was the sound as of a very great number³ of gods being slain.

When I had now grown to be a good size, the very distant sound of the gods of the Yaunguru⁴ reached the top of our grass house: hearing which, my guardian god⁵ sent forth an answering cry from the top of our roof.

¹ Said to be a secluded spot somewhere in the Island of Saghalien.

² The words "Elder sister" do not of necessity imply that this person stood in such relationship to our hero. In fact, we see lower down that his foster-mother was no relation at all. The words are merely an expression of endearment, and are still sometimes so used by the Ainu.

³ The words here translated "very great number" are in the Ainu. "two or three." This is a native idiom expressing "intensity" or "great numbers." Thus, when an Ainu says "he was struck once or twice," he means "he was beaten severely." Or when he says "two or three" men were killed in battle, he means "a great number" of persons were slain.

⁴ Yaunguru i.e. Ainu warriors.

⁵ "Guardian god." According to Ainu ideas every person is watched over by some special guardian god. These gods are supposed to give warning when danger is near at hand and to assist one in escaping from harm's way

Shine iri kamui ukohum guru turupa kane, gusu hum ashbe akoyamokte. Tambe gusu itak an hawe ene oka-hi:— "Akoro safo iresu shiri pirika an a. Ipaskuma wa ikoropare yan," sekoro itak an.

Katu ne kane oripak ruibe so ne kotom, hottoro kata kotususatki; tu peken' nupe yaikorange ki rok hine ene itak-hi:— "Naa e poro, koroka, aepaskuma ki wa ne yakne iraike yakka rai ororowa ka ayaikotomka ki gusu ne ap. E nurusuibe ne gusu aepaskuma yakka, oara heikachi upaskuma nu koro, nukoshne wa iyaikiptep ne na, iteki nukoshne; aepas-kuma katu ene an-i:—

Teeda kane e kor'ainu rorumbe uturu koyashinire. Tumisanpet, Shinutakashi pengirechiu pangirechiu oka ruwe ne. Uimam gusu kamui katkimat pakkai hine kamui ototush ona tura wa paye rok gusu, Karapto

I was very much surprised indeed to hear gods of the same family⁶ thus call out together. So I said:—"Oh my elder sister you have indeed brought me up well, please tell me what this noise means."

Thereupon she became exceedingly respectful, and, while trembling and weeping very much, said:—"Oh that you were a little bigger. Then if because I answered your question you were to kill me, it would not matter; for it would be better for me to die. Now, if I tell you what you desire to hear, do not get angry like a little lad, for that would be dangerous, so keep your temper. What I have to tell you is on this wise:—

"Some time ago, when there had been a war in the land, your father withdrew and governed the country around Shinutapkashi⁷ and Tumisanpet. One day your mother took the Curly-head⁸ on her back and went with

6 Our hero expresses surprise at hearing the cry of the guardian gods of Ainus. This is quite natural when we remember that he is in a foreign land. We are told lower down that he is in Karapto or Saghalien.

7 The name of a mountain in Yezo upon which the ancient Ainu warriors are said to have had their fortress and home.

8 The curly-head here referred to is the brother of our hero. We shall hear more of him further on.

kotan ta paye aige, inao ani aeyanashuye yap ruwe ue. Surugu tonoto kunne hene tokap hene akuekoiki ki rok hine, ihoshki nishpa tonoto itakte ene oka-hi:—"Karap-to kotan ikkewehe utat'tura no hok" itak ki.

your father to pay her respects to (the governor of Manchuria).⁹ On drawing near to Saghalien the people (came down to the sea-shore), carrying *inao*¹⁰ in their hands, and beckoned them to land. They then sat down and did nothing but drink poisonous wine¹¹ both day and night. Your father got drunk, and in his debauchery said:—"I am able to buy up all the people and treasure of Saghalien."

Newa ambe otumi ne, orowa no, uei a pishkan kotan choarapare; ki rok aine, akoro kotan reikoro katu Chiwashpet kotan ne ruwe ne; rametok patek uwatte kotan nep ne gusu, e kor'ainu aonishposore. Tata otta e kor'ainu eshipop-kep kasa tura no auina hine e kot'totto seturuhu un aenk hine pakkai numat ayaiko-yupu. Tap orowa no e kot'totto pishkanike aetamani ki

The people took this as a *casus belli*; and the war which thence arose has spread over the whole land. Now the name of our country is *Chiwashpet*; and as the people of *Chiwashpet* are all exceedingly brave, your father was killed in battle. After his death your mother took his arms and helmet, and putting them down her back under her clothes, tied on her girdle; and then, taking her

9 The words "the governor of Manchuria" are not in the legend, but they are supplied secretly to enquirers who ask to whom their ancestors paid their respects. The Ancient Ainus used to go yearly to Manchuria to pay their respects to the governor of that country, and on their way used to pass through Saghalien. They used also to do business with the Manchurians particularly when at war with the Japanese. Possibly the Ainus were subject to Manchuria in very ancient times.

10 These *inao* may possibly have been merely emblems of peace. They are pieces of whittled wood and now used as offerings to the deities.

11 The legend does not intend to indicate that the wine was really poisoned, but that it had some bad effects on our hero's father.

rok, koroka, e kot'tolto shukup ebitta tumi patek kip nep ne gusu tumi hondom aeannutuye. Tap orowa no kamui otopush oara shinen ne shukup ebitta tumi ruwe ne. Nei rapoketa aekira, tap an kotan ainu hene kamui hene ekatki kotan shomo ne wa gusu, arei kore-hi Kotan utun'nai Moshiri utun'nai ne ruwe ne wa upshororoge aeoresu oka an ruwe ne. Kamui otopush shinen ne patek nitne kamui kotumi koro; tambe pakno shir'an ruwe ne. E nu rusui gusu, e yep ne gusu, aenure yakka iteki nukoshne," seko-ro itak.

Eunkashi no araige anki yainu an koroka, eane no po akoyaikentum oshitchinre, itak an hawe ene oka-hi:—"Akoro sapo ireshpa shiri pirika an a. Akoro ainu eshipopkep sapte ki wa ikoropare yan," sekoro itak an; ki rok gusu itak-ekashnu shiruita tereke shut ketushi ishina atu pitapita, ketushi

sword, she went all over the country to war. There was nothing but fighting during the whole of your mother's life, and she was killed in battle. And so the Curly-head was left entirely alone and from that time to this has been engaged in war. While things were in this state, I ran away with you and brought you here, where neither gods nor men approach. It is on account of this seclusion that our place is called *Kotan utunmai Moshiri utunnai*;¹² and here you have been brought up. It is against the Curly-head alone that the devils have been warring all this time. I have told you this because you asked me, so please do not be angry."

Upon hearing this I had a vehement desire to kill her. Nevertheless I managed with great perseverance to restrain myself, and said:—"Ah my elder sister, you have indeed reared me well, please show me my father's arms." When I had said this, yea, ere I had finished speaking, she tripped off and fetched an

¹² The meaning of these names is doubtful. According to derivation they may mean either "the stream in the middle of the country," or "the stream behind the village," the former derivation is to be preferred.

upshoro wa kamui rangetam kamui kosonde iwan kosonde sapte ruwe ne. Uokkane kut kane pon kasa koaruweun. Ikotarara, yairenga ne akoro. Pon anip ayaikoanu, kamui kosonde iwan kosonde ashikurnkasam opirasa, uokkane kut earasaine no ayai kosaye, kamui rangetam akntpochin, kane pon kasa rantupepi ayai koyup.

Pakno ne koro, rorui sho kata ash poka iki aewen kane, tumishimaka wenbeshimaka ayaisamtapka riterite; eshishoun wa ehariki so untumi-wentoiru ankakushte iki an aine, akoro mun chisei rikun shnikashi ayaipekare, akoro mun chisei tap kashi ituren kamui kohum epushi.

Tap orowa no, kamui mau etok aehopuni, akoro sapo chish-rimimse, kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—
"Shomo okaibe oara heikachi rorumbe kuruka konukoshne ne ruwe ne na. E koro kotan

ancient treasure bag. She quickly untied the strings of the bag, and from the inside took a beautiful sword and six splendid garments. There were the belt and the helmet with all their belongings complete. She handed them to me, and I took them with pleasure. I then put my little¹³ clothes on one side and dressed myself in the six beautiful garments; I wound the belt round my body, stuck the trusty sword into my girdle, and tied on the beautiful helmet.

Then I attempted to stand up at the head of the hearth, but could not well do it, so I exercised my arms and shoulders, as warriors do; and then walked back and forth around the fireplace, still stretching myself. After I had done this I shot out through the upper window of our grass hut, and my guardian god sent forth a cry from its top.

After this I was carried along before a mighty wind, while my elder sister, weeping, said:—"My little lad, do not lose your temper and do outrageous things in this war. You must first be

¹³ i.e. his childish garments.

u Shinutapka acornra wa, orowa no ka, ingi kotan ingi moshiri e arapa wa e tnni yak pirika na," sekoro itak ki, koroka iki, oro hunak un kamui mau-pashte aki, aine, pirika moshiri ikoyairiki pumba kane moshit'teksam ayoyande wa ingar'an ruwe, hange metot yairikigurn pumba kane ; pirika pon pet arapa hange pet so ne gusu pet eriki-teshpa kane, pet oran aatte kane, pet hontomo nep kamui ewak shir'oroge ne wa gusu, kunne urara puta ne nish ne, pirika pon pet pet hontomo koerachitke. Imakake wa fure urara puta ne nish ne pet ram-tom oro koerachitke. Imakaketa shi-unin urara pet ram-tom oro koerachitke.

Akoro sapo chish-rimimse, kurnkashike itak omare ene oka-hi :—"Nep use kamui koro kotan u shomo ne a an. Pa koro kamui notono-ho ewak shi'roroge ne a an na. Tande wa no ashirikiune

taken to your home of *Shinutapka*, and after that you may war against every town and country in the whole world." Thus spake my elder sister. And so I was driven before the wind, till all at once a beautiful country arose to my view. I was set upon its shores and saw a mountain close by, the top of which went up into the clouds. A most beautiful little river came running down the mountain slopes, in such a manner that it appeared to be suspended in the air. Near the centre part of the river, there was a place which looked as though the gods lived in it; for there was a black cloud of fog hanging over it like a covering; lower down the river I saw another cloud, but red, hanging suspended in like manner, and further down still another, but of a yellow colour.

My elder sister weeping said :—"This is not the dwelling-place of common gods, but of the chief of the demons of all ills.¹⁴ Let us now turn away from here and go to some other coun-

¹⁴ According to Ainu ideas there are special demons whose province it is to inflict sickness upon people. The chief of these evil spirits is supposed to be the demon of small-pox.

oya moshiri akoruenemba yakka pirika no kamui koshomo yaikotanu iki aeki na." Sekoro itak ki, koroka iki, ashpa kisara aitutande arapa an ruwe ne. Kunne urara urat'tumu apaeotke wa ingar'an ruwe, kamui kamaso iwan kamaso kamaso kashi kunne urara koerachitke ki katulu ne rok oka. Kunne kamaso kamaso kata arapa an awa, nei wa nei ya yupke tamkuru ikohopuni. Akoro sapo yupke tamkuru kohopuni. Anraipoka ayai-koniukesh tam nikotta nitne tereke shusamna tereke aki rok ine, nei a tamkuru atumam kashike kohoshupkarapa. Oyachiki, oha tamkuru ne rok oka.

Akoro sapo ashiri-kinne chishrimimse; kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Saure ambe paretoko yai-kara shiri shomo tap an. Tande wa no hoshippa anro," sekoro itak ki, koroka iki, nani arapa an, fure urara urat'tumu apaweotke, ingar'an awa, fure kamaso iwan kamaso uweoriro. Kamaso kata arapa an koro, eshiri an ap chitennepe nere. Yupke tamkuru ikohopumba ki, koroka iki, tam eshishi

try. Do not show any disrespect to these demons." So spake my elder sister. Nevertheless I turned a deaf ear to her words and went into the black cloud. Here I saw six large rapids, with clouds of black fog hanging over them. I proceeded to go near them, but on drawing nigh to the black rapids, I was suddenly set upon by some one who had a sword. My sister was also attacked. In order to save ourselves, we jumped on one side and escaped with difficulty, for I felt the passage of the ineffective blow upon my body as the sword went by; however, the blow was harmless.

Then my sister, again weeping, said:—"This is not the forerunner of any light matter. Oh let us return." Nevertheless, I immediately went on into the red fog, and there I saw six red rapids. What I met with on going to the top of these rapids made that which happened to me before seem quite a trifle.¹⁵ I was set upon with ferocity, yet, notwithstanding this, I made no attempt to avoid the attack. But the blow was an

¹⁵ The original is—"that which I met before was as a baby to this."

shomo aki, ki rok awa, oha tamkuru nep ne gusu atumam kashike koechanchange. Imakake wa shiunin kamaso iwau kamaso kamaso kashi shiunin urara koerachitke ki katuhu ne rok oka; shiunin kamaso kamaso ka wa yupke tamkuru iko hopuri ki koroka iki, tam eshisli shomo aki oha tamkun'ne atumam kashi ko-o-shupkari.

Imakaketa paye an ruwe, kamui nupuri nupuri ka wa shuma kiroru ranru konna maknatara. Kiroru pok ta kane shimpui kane pishaku shimpui otta an ruwe ne. Kiroru kari ura'tapkop upish iwanbe rap ruwe ne. Iyotta hoshiki no ek guru kunne kosonde yaiimine no utomchiure guru ne ruwe ne. Seturu kashita fure kosonde utomchiure guru, naa seturu kashika shiunin kosonde utomchiure guru rap ruwe ne. Orowa, shiwentep oro-ge upish ren, shiwentep tura no upish iwa niu rap ruwe ne.

Hoshiki no ek guru otu-sanashke uwenoye; kurn-kashike itak omare ene okahi:—"Ingara gusu Ainu akpo, itak an chiki piriku

empty one and took no effect upon my body. Next to these I came to six yellow clouds of fog hanging over six yellow rapids. On going to them I was again fiercely attacked by some one above them, but I stood my ground without flinching, and the ineffective blows struck harmlessly upon my body.

After this I went along, and there opened out to my view a stony path coming down from the mountain top. At the bottom of the path there was a metal well, and upon the well a metal water-ladle. Coming down the path, I saw, as it were, six banks of fog. The very first in order was a person clothed entirely in black garments; the next one was dressed in red, and the following person had yellow clothes on. After these there came three women, thus making up in all the number of six.¹⁶

The first person came to me, and, making obeisance, said:—"Look here, my younger Ainu brother, I have something to say to

¹⁶ The sacred or perfect number of the Ainus.

no nu. Aoka anak ne nep tumunchi ki gusu okaibe a ne ruwe ka shomo tap au. Pase kamui pa koro kamui a ne hine, tap au moshiri aekotan koro wa oka an. Awa, kamui otopush shukup ebitta tumi patek ki aeram-pokiwen. Tambe gusu seremak oroge akonitata wa gusu ambe, etakasure tumi teksam e seremak koro ki ruwe ne; awa, moshiri hutneko akoro moshiri e oariki ki shiri ne wa aeiwakshir'oroge e koshirepa ayayainu poka ki ruwe ne na. Tambe gusu kunne kamaso fure kamaso shiunin kamaso kamaso kata chi tam-saphere aekarakara ki shiri ne yak ne, ainu e ne yak, e hoshihi kunak aramu ap; nani e ek ki katuhu newa ne yakka hoshippa wa ikore yan. Nep tumunchi tumunchi kuruka e seremak oroge aenitata yak, etakasare e eseremak koro ki ruwe ne na; hoshippa wa ikore yan."

Sekoro itak koro, otusana-shke uwenoye. Iyonuitasa shine ashikepet aetarara; kurukashike itak omare ene

you, so pay attention. I am not a person whose business it is to make war, but am the god of all ills and dwell here in this my town. Now there has been nothing but war during the whole lifetime of the Curly-head; for that I have pitied you, and because I felt thus for you, I have kept you free from all evil, and throughout this long war have preserved you from every harm. The world is a broad one, and yet you have deigned to come to so narrow a place as my poor dwelling. I am not worthy to receive you. It was out of respect to you that we pretended to strike you with our swords from above the black, red, and yellow rapids. If you had been a mere man you would have turned away, but you came straight on; however, please turn back at once. As I have kept you perfectly safe and sound throughout all these years of war, please now return."

When he had finished speaking, he again made his obeisances; but I pointed my little finger at him¹⁷, and

17 It is considered to be a great insult to point the little finger at a person.

oka-hi :—" *Pase kamui ituiba yak ne rai orowa no ayaikotomka ki kusu ne na. Hetak, ituiba yan," sekoro itak au. Anak ki koroka, utarapa utara hakmahakma, "Aoka anak ne tumi gusu oka utara shome a ne na. Hoshippa wa ikore yan," sekoro itak. Tambe mashkin kinramau ne iko hetari. Tambe gusu re utarapa acokotama yupke tamkuru akoterekere. Kamui ne gusu peken'rera ne atam tui kashi maunoipare. Re pon shiwentep Chiwashpet un mat akoro sapo ukotumi koro tu kane tamsep ukopumba. Rapoketa, re utarapa otutam iworu aeterekere; ki rok hine, hunak pakita ennush etayeba anuu-kippo iyemontasa. Otu-tam iworu ayeterekere. Aiuu kat ne aikara kuni oturaisamne aekote kara.*

Tam reu kashi ruika shiu'ne akootereke. Hariki samma ateknumteke naukep-saine. Aeteke kuru yashkara, aine, hunak pakita shiunin kosonde mi a kamui kamui otopi ateksaikare. Rupne watara nokau watara aekik humi yaknatara; ki rok hine, oanraige wa chep hurukap ne ashitomkote.

said :—" Even if your excellency should kill me, it would be good for me after death. Come slay me." Although I did and said this, my lords made excuses, and replied :—" We are not warriors, therefore please return." This made me still more angry. So I set upon the three lords fiercely with my sword. But as they were gods, they quickly turned themselves into air and escaped above the reach of the sword. Then the three little women attacked the woman of *Chiwashpet*, my elder sister. As I was striking at my three foes, they all at once drew their swords and set upon me, and I again returned their attack. I also changed my bodily human form, so as to render myself invisible to them.

I next jumped upon the sword of one of my enemies, and danced upon it as though it were a bridge; at the same time I made a clutch at another with my left hand. After a while I seized the person who was clothed in yellow by the hair of his head and banged him hard upon the little rocks and the

Tap orowa no, utarapa utara yupke shuyep ureu kuruka kushte-kushte. Tata otta oanrai ainu tam-kik-humbe ne arik-na-shuye arana-shuye itukarike kotam eyokba. Hunak paketa shitemnikor'un, nei a utarapa tup ne rep ne ausatuye. Inotu oroge hopuni humi keurototke. Shiknu kamui ne kon'nupuri nupuri tak tapka kohum henene. Rapoketa shiunin kosonde mi a katkimat inotu oroge hopuni humi keurototke.

Ashirikinne fure kosonde mi a utarapa kamui otopi atekkonoye, rupne watara nokan watara anakik humi yaknatara. Tam-kik-humbe ne arikna-shuye aran-na-shuye kunne kosonde mi a utarapa ipishkamke nike etemani ki, koroka iki, oanrai ainu tam-kik-humbe arikna-puni emko gusu itukarike kotam eyoki, ki rok aine, hunak paketa fure kosonde mi a utarapa shitemnikor'un tup ne rep ne ausatuye; kamui inotu arapa humi keurototke;

large ones; when he was quite dead I dragged him along behind me, he looking like the skin of a dead fish.¹⁸ Then the chief of the lords made mighty sweeps at me with his sword. So I used the slain man as a shield and warded off the blows with him. After a time the man whom I used as a shield was cut to pieces, and his living soul departed with a sound and ascended to the top of his mountain.¹⁹ At the same time the wife of him who was clothed in yellow was slain.

I next seized the man who was clothed in red by the hair of his head and beat him hard upon the rocks; and then, using him as a shield, swung him about and cleared a way for myself to the side of him who was clothed in black. So, as I used the slain man as a shield, the blows of my enemies' swords were warded off me. At length the red man—my shield—was cut in pieces and slain, his living soul ascended to the top of the mountain, his

¹⁸ Or, as we might sometimes hear said, "I beat him out as flat as a pancake."

¹⁹ i.e. the mountain upon which he had his dwelling.

shiknu kamui ne kon'nupuri nupuri tapka kohum tere-kere. Tap orowa no, kunne kosonde mi a kamui e tun a ne wa arutani kochupuchupu an. Hunak pakita kamui rengai ne a tamnotak sam chepekare, tup ne rep ne ausatuye; inotu oroge hopuni humi keurototke. Kunne kosonde mi katkimat fure kosonde mi katkimat aru-iram no inotu oroge hopumba humi keurototke, obitta no shiknu kamui ne kon'nupuri nupuri tapka kohum payere.

Chiwashpet un mat ampiri poka chearaita, iteksamta horaochiwe. Tap orowa no shungu ninara chishirianu; kan-nitai kane nitai ne ruwe ne. Kane nitai pokin-nitai ramtom-nitai ne chishirianu. Aye rok heta, Ukamu-nitai Kane-nitai tu rei koro kotan aarakotomka, nei nitai mau kara humi orosama tununitara. Saure kamui ewak moshiri shomo ne kotom aesanniyo. Paye an aine, tan'nisap no abe hura parakosamba. Ayoyamokte gusu ironne nitai nitai kurupok

dwelling-place, with a sound. Then he who was dressed in black fought a duel with me, and at length, by the help of god, the edge of my sword touched him; he was severely cut and his spirit departed with a great noise. The spirit of the woman who was dressed in black and also that of the one who was clothed in red departed in company with him: making a mighty sound, every one of them was sent to the top of the mountain a living soul.²⁰

Then the woman of *Chiwashpet* came down to my side, and she was without a single scratch. Now some beautiful hills of pine trees came in sight. Some of the trees were pines and were beautiful and large, others were oaks, and, though smaller, were quite as beautiful. Without doubt this was the place called by the two names—*Ukamu-nitai* and *Kane-nitai*.²¹ The noise the trees made as the wind blew through them was like the tinkling of metal. I thought

²⁰ The Ainus say that the gods could not be killed; but that when they were defeated in battle they merely returned to their natural dwelling-places.

²¹ *Ukamu-nitai* means "the forest whose trees join together overhead;" and *kane-nitai* means "the beautiful," or "metal forest."

*akocherana eshitaigi. In-gar'an awa, tanto nisapa aari
abe poro abe an ruwe ne. Abe
arake wa shirara hayokbe
iwan hayokbe, shiwentep iwa
niu tumu aishirika yaikoropare.
Iwan shiwentep shirara hayokbe
iwan hayokbe usamta rok.
Iwan shiwentep samata okai
abe arake wa kane hayokbe
iwan hayokbe Utarapa aru-
kirikasam tek o kane, iwan
shiwentep samata okai; abe
etokta pon nupuri tek aushte
chikiri aushte shem korachi.*

*Ainu hetap ne nangora!
Atusukamka kotuwatuwak;
kanchi pakbe torat'tush ani
yaikoshina; nan.ne korobe
soshke pira shikopayara, etu
ne korobe ratki shitu shiko-
payara aeramushkarip ne
koroka, aye rok kuni Etura-
chichi aarakotomkap wen
ainu nitne abe etok ehorari.
Nei rapoketa nekon ne humi
ne nangoro! Akoromoshiri
koshnep po ne aikomoire
shuye kane koro, kane*

this to be indeed the home of no mean gods. As we went along I suddenly perceived a smell of fire. I was much surprised at this, so I shot down through the trees to see what it was. On looking round I saw a great fire which had just been kindled. It was burning brightly. On one side of the fire I saw six men clothed in stone suits of armour, together with six ugly women. The ugly women were sitting by the side of the men. On the other side of the fire there sat, cross-legged, six lords clothed in metal armour, with six women by their side. At the head of the fire there sat a man who looked like a mountain with arms and legs.

Surely he must be a man! His skin was of a mangy kind; he had a sword which looked like a boat-scuttle, strapped to his side with leather thongs. His face resembled a mountain from which the land had slipped and which had been left bare; and his nose was like a protruding mountain range. I did not know for certain, but I thought this creature must be the person who was

*shungu-tai kane chaha ukere
humi, orosama nainatara;
ki rok aine, ingar'an awa,
shomo kashui ingar'an kuni
aramu ahi, poro shungu
shungu kitai oanrai ainu
akoshinashina, oanrai ainu
okken maka atte kane; nan-
kurukashi tu ineru guru
kotuituige ki, koroka iki,
aeramushkarip kamui oto-
push akoro yupi aarakotom-
ka makan ne koro, atnikot'ta
teshke-teshke koro, oro oro-
chiki, akoro moshiri aikoren-
na shuiba humi ne rok a an.*

*Tata otta akoro sapo Chi-
washpet un mat ene itak-hi:
—"Aaktonoge, itak an chiki
pirika no nu. Oan-nikap
guru anina yak ne tumi tek-
samta teke iyokok aki yak ne,
tumi teksam aeyapte na.
Kewachi ekara aekarakara
ki wa ne yak ne, oara shinen*

called²² " *Eturachichi* ! " Without doubt he was a very evil man who thus sat at the head of the fire. While looking at these people, I heard a curious noise, and the earth was gently waived to and fro, while the metal tings of the pine trees sent forth a jingling sound. Meanwhile I saw a sight which I should never have thought of seeing. I beheld a man tied to the top of one of the large pine trees. There he swung with his face turned up towards the sky; and out of his countenance issued flashes of lightning. Nevertheless, though I did not know it, he who was tied up and wriggling about at the top of the tree was none other than my elder brother, the Curly-head. It was his writhing which caused the earth to tremble.

Then my elder sister—the woman of *Chiwashpet*—said:—"My younger brother, listen to me, for I have something to say. If you take that cowardly body down from the tree, it will be a nuisance to you and prove an impediment during this fight, and

²² *Eturachichi* means "hanging nose." He was so named because of the extraordinary length of his nose.

ne e tumi kon'na," sekoro itak. Abe arake wa kane hayokbe iwan Utarapa shine itak ne ene itak-hi:—"Aoka anak ne Kanepet nirup iwan iriwak ne, iwan tureshun a ne ruwe ne. Tanto otta ekimne an gusu ariki an awa, kamui otopush oan-nikap gurn tumi shuikere koro kotan kochipatuiba. Anukar'ita atuiba yakka aronnu yakka pirika, koroka, tuima kane Shipish un guru akor' acha shomo nu no araige yak ne aiyapapu ki kuni-hi aramu gusu, poro shungu akoshinashina oka an awa, Shirarapet un gurn iwan Utarapa turesh tura no araki hine tura aka an. Rapoketa ainu hetap kamui hetap e ne ruwe an. Shine ikinne kamui otopush pirika kewe Shipish un gurn kashi-aose ki wa ne yak ne, iyeko-puntek ki nangun na," sekoro itak.

Abe etokta oka rok ainu itak ne manup ekuttom kon-na meshra-meshra; kuru-kashike itak ibehe ainu itak ne auwomande ene oka-hi:—

if I take the body and run off with it, you will be left to fight this battle alone." Now the six lords who sat by the side of the fire in their metal armour, with one voice, said:—"We six are inhabitants of *Kanepet*,²³ and these women are our six sisters. As we came to-day into these mountains, we found this cowardly Curly-head returning to his own land from war. It would have been well if we had killed him when we first met him. But as we thought it would deserve reproof if we did not let our uncles from the distant land of *Shipish* know, we tied him up to this great pine tree. And now the six lords of *Shirarapet*²⁴ are here together with their sisters. You also, whether you are a god or a man we know not, have come; let us take the beautiful body of the Curly-head and give it to the people of *Shipish*, for that will please them.

Then the man who sat at the head of the fire spake with a voice which sounded like one clearing his throat. And if we translate what he

²³ *Kanepet* means "metal river."

²⁴ *Shirarapet* means "stony river."

"*Ashinuma akoro kotan reikoro katu Pon moshiri kotan ne ruwe ne. Ashinuma Eturachichi Pon moshiri un guru a ne ruwe ne; shine ikinne kamui otopush Shipish un guru kashiaose ki wa ne yak ne, iyekopuntek ki nangon na,*" *sekoro itak. Rapoketa, akoro sapo shungu kitai koikaturi kamui otopush tumam kashi un at tuye hum serekosamba. Shine hosarapa wen ainu nitne utarihi shine hosarapa ukoeyukara.*

Tata otta ainu kat ne aikara kuni oturaisambe aekote kara; peken'rera ne, abe teksam un wen ainu nitne utariki aenkotama yupke tamkuru akoterekere. Iki an rokbe, abe arake un okkaiyo ren shirwentep ren upish iwa niu shinep tuye ne aetam etoko serekosamba. Abe arake un shirara hayokbe re utarapa shinep tuye ne aetam etoko serekosamba. Tam kiru ne Eturachichi wen ainu nitne yupke tamkuru akoterekere, ki rok awa, pon ko an ap peken'rera ne atam tui kashi maunoyere. Rapokeheta shietu uina, kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Tap huhunak

spake into the language of men, he said thus:—"The name of my country is *Pon Moshiri kotan*,²⁵ and I am called *Eturachichi* of that country. Let us now give the Curly-head to the people of *Shipish*, and so please them." While this was going on, my elder sister sped up to the top of the pine tree and cut the cords with which the Curly-head was tied. This made all the bad demoniacal men turn round with one accord.

Now I changed my bodily form, so as not to be seen, and became air, and then fiercely attacked the bad fiendish people who were sitting by the fire. With one stroke I cut down three men and three women, in all six persons, and with another blow I slew three of the men who were clothed in stone armour, whilst with a back stroke I set upon the *Eturachichi*, but that great fellow became air and escaped round my sword. He was greatly astonished and said:—"I thought that you were a dead man who hung at the top of the pine tree; but you have killed my

²⁵ *Pon moshiri kotan* means "the town in the little country."

oanrai ainu ne wa shungu kitai akoshinabe koro yainu an ap, iyutara oro anrawe-chiu ki shiri an. Emushi tumi ne akotumi koro ki wa ne yakka araige kunip shomo ne shiri newa an na. Keke, hetak, Shipish un guru koro irami tumu irami aorura yak ne irami otta awa-irure eashkai na."

Sekoro itak koro, tereke humi ne metot shokata arutam kochupuchupu an. Paye an aine hine, hunakta paye an koro akoro sapo ek hum konna keurototke. Iteksam horaochiwe; kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—"E koro yupi kamui otopush kewe-chekira aekarakara hine, e koro kotan ta Shinutapka ta arura hine, arapa an awa, oro oyachiki chashi koro guru iresu yupi iresu sapo oka rok oka; temkoro-sama kamui otopush aorura hine, shiknu kuni tusa kuni aurengare ki wa orowa araki an na," sekoro itak. Hontomota iwan shiwentep iresu sapo koyaisaptere arutam kochupu kane, ine rokbe gusu wen shiwentep utarihi rametok koro gusu shiriki ya! Yainonepta akoro sapo otutam iworu aeterekere; ki aige ka makan ne koro,

friends. It is not worth my while to fight and kill you with a sword, so come here, and I will carry you off to the precipitous country of the *Shipish* people, that they may cast you down their precipice.

When he had finished speaking, we arose above the mountain tops and commenced to fight. As we went along, I presently heard my elder sister coming. She came down to my side and said:—"I took the body of your elder brother, the Curly-head, and carried him to your town of *Shinutapka*. On arriving there, I met at the fortress the brother and sister who reared him, and they, when they had embraced him, took him home, where we restored him to life and strength; and now I have returned to you." She had hardly finished speaking before she was attacked by the six women. Dear me how bravely those women fought! My elder sister was in great straits, for the six women set upon her with one accord, so that they went

*iwau shiwentep shiue ikiunc
otutam iworo aeotomsam
etaeta; shinnatoine shinua
tumunchi tuima metot koru-
• euempa.*

*Iwan okkaiyo Eturachichi
shiue tam ani ukoiyukara,
makan ne koro, tu tam iworo
aiyeterekere; yaani tu shui
yaani re shui chinowairure
aiyekarakara, ki koroka iki,
ainu kat ne inukara kuni
oturaisambe aekote kara.
Tam tuikata peken' rera ue,
tam tui kaue amaunoyere;
iki an aine, pirika pon pet
ek ru konua maknatara.
Ek tuima pet so ue gusu,
hange metot kopet-o-riki
puni kaue, tuima metot kopet
erauta roropa kaue, pet
ramtomo kamui kau'nisei
chieomare; aye rok kuni
tumi irami arakotomka, ni-
sei asam shirara ibeop shi-
rara ibetam euchoroshte;
notak kurukashi rukane
wakka chikonoiwa. Tambe
ani rukane hura aekentum
konua rapnatara. Utarapa
utara shiue ikinne inisei
kopiubapiuba, yaani tu shui
yaani re shui tumi irami
ayewairure, ki koroka iki,
tam tui kashi amaunoyere;
kurukashike aitak omare eue
oka-hi:—*

hither and thither all over
the mountains fighting.

The six men, together
with *Eturachichi*, all set
upon me fiercely, so that I
was several times very nearly
killed. However, I changed
my bodily human form so
that they should not see me,
and so, having become air, I
escaped above their swords.
As we were thus going along,
a beautiful little water-way
came into view. As this
river was a very long one, its
mouth seemed to be high
up in the near mountains,
and its source looked as
though it was low down and
in the distant hills. Along
the river there were some
exceedingly steep gullies, and
these were without doubt
the aforesaid precipices. At
the bottom of these gullies,
there were many stone
spears and swords standing
upright, and around the
points of these there trickled
down poisonous water. The
smell of this poisonous water
entered into my heart, so that
I was several times nearly
killed; for the lords with one
accord chased me into these

"Nisei koro kamui irami koro kamui itak an chiki piri-ka no nn yan; shinen a ne wa rai an yakka kem rik tonoto echi ku orakse ki rutwe ne na. I scremak oroge oshiraiba wa ikore yan; utari innep Rep un gun'ne gusu, kem rik tonoto seenne neita echi eshochupu shomoki na," sekoro itak an. Utarapa utara annokippo aemondasa, ayupke shuyep aenisei kopiwe kane, iki an aine, shirara hayokbe iyotta kiyannep nisei asam chipekare; irami notak notak kurukashi chipekare, ohau-not charake shikopayara. Inotu oroge hopumba lumi keurototke.

Kanna rui no kane hayokbe iyotta poro guru nisei kuruka chirarire, irami notak chipekare; ohau-not charake shikopayara. Ukat-tuima no shinep araige tup araige nisei eraibe shinep

gullies. Nevertheless, I escaped above their swords. Presently I said to them:—

"My lords, ye possessors of these valleys and of these precipices, I have a word to say, so pay attention. I am but a single man, so that if ye kill me there will not be sufficient blood-wine²⁶ for ye all to drink. Come in after me then; ye multitudes of Repun²⁷ people shall have so much blood-wine to quaff that ye will never need to cease drinking." So spake I. I then put forth all my power and struck with mighty blows in order to push them into the valley. After a time, the elder of those clothed with stone armour fell to the bottom. As he knocked against the sides of the precipice, he flew into pieces, as vegetables do when being cut up to stew. His soul departed with a sound.

I then fought more fiercely still and drove the greatest of those who were dressed in metal armour over the precipice. He too went down and was knocked into small pieces. So also, at intervals,

²⁶ It is said by the Ainus that the inhabitants of this precipitous country used to drink the blood of those they slew in war.

²⁷ Repun is said to be the Ainu name for Saghalien or Karafu.

poka shikun raibe oara isam. Oanrai kamui ne i-moshit' ehup pok kokuuneranta roropa kane; iki an aine, iwan utarapa obitta araige okakeheta Eturachichi Pou moshir'un guru shinep patek au. Tap orowa no, shine okkaiyo ki tam ani yaani tu shui yaani re shui chinowairure aiyekarokara. Annukippo aewondasa ayupke shuyep aurenkuruka kushite kane, ki koroka iki, makan ne koro, peken'rcra ne, ayupke shuyep tam tui kashi mannoyere emkosama aekot poka ewen kane; ki rok ainc, lunak pakita pon ko au ap, shiraraye ramkopashtep yai-koanu, ene itak-hi:—"Keka, hetak, Utarapa anak shine ukoiki showo kip ne na. Kiroro koiki aki gusn ne na," sekoro itak koro, ikotetereke, anrapoki akari kuni oturaisambe anakote kara; aramkopashtep ashioshmake oraiba kane akotetereke.

Ukotereke an. Eturachichi poro tekehe aikken kata utasa humi aekeutum konna

I pressed the others, one at a time, into the gully and every one of them was killed. Not one of them lived, but the soul of each went to the nether world with a noise. After I had done this, and all six of the lords were killed, *Eturachichi* of *Pou moshiri* was left alone. So he set upon me. He fought so hard that I had the greatest difficulty in escaping unhurt. I then went for him as fiercely, and made mighty sweeps with my sword. Nevertheless, he managed to turn himself into air and so escape me, hence I could not possibly kill him. After this kind of thing had been going on for a long time, that great fellow took off his clothes and sword, and, laying them on one side, said:—"Come, come, champions do not war in one way only, for they fight also with their bodily strength." When he had said this, he rushed towards me. I did not wish to be beaten, however, so I stuck my sword into my girdle, pushed it behind me, and rushed at him.

And so we wrestled. *Eturachichi* wound his great arms around me and nearly

mukkosamba ; anak ki koro-ka, chiriri wakka ne tek uturu achoposore. Taporo-wa no, moshiri shokata ukotereke an ; makan ue koro, yaanihungo nisei kuruka aikarapare koro, nisei asamma hopuni reraiyeriki-teslipa kane, ki rok hine, hnnak pakita Eturachichi nisei asam akoosura ; irami notak chipekare, shirara ibeop shirara ibetam notak kurukata ohan-not charake shikopayara inotu oroge hopumba humi keurototke. Kashio-kake chakkosamba. Pak no ne koro, "neita an gurn rei-koro katu Shipish un guru uewa gusu, tumi tnikata aishitomare ki hawe oka shomo annkan'no akot chashi akohoshi ki wa ne yak ne, semi-okkaiyoranu aikore na," yaiuu an gusu, nei a pon pet pet esoro san an awa, ituren kamui ikurukashike humrarire. Tambe gusu, itak an hawe ene an-hi:—"Ituren kamui, ikohum-more ikoropare yan. Shipish un guru cwak shir'oroge annkara poka ki, kurukashike aiotuye ki wa ne yakka, Shipish un guru ayairametok urwande gusu ne na ;" sekoro itak an awa, tnima metot ituren kamui kohum hen-

squeezed me to death, but I managed to slip out of his embrace as water trickles down. We then wrestled over the mountain tops, but withal I was almost thrown into the poisonous valley ; however, a wind arose out of it and bore me up. After striving for some time I succeeded in throwing *Eturachichi* into the gully and he was made mincemeat of by the stone swords and spears. His soul departed with a great sound. After this I had rest. I now thought thus to myself. "If I, like one afraid, return to my home in the midde of the war without even seeing the people who go by the name of *Shipish* men, I shall be thought not to possess the heart of a man." As I thought thus, I set off down the river ; and when I started, my guardian god sent forth a mighty cry. I therefore said to him:—"My guardian god, do not make such a noise. If I can only manage to see the dwelling-place of the *Shipish* people, then, after that, I do not mind if I am killed ; I must measure my sword with these dwellers at *Shipish*." After I had

*eue. Kashiokake chakko
samba.*

*Onish sak rera homara
kamui mau mau etoko aho-
puni. Sau au aiue taue ne
gusu pish un koi hum hange
hange. Pirika pon pet atui
kuruka kosau chiwash sange
kaue. Pet tek sama iune ko-
tan chi-koseslike; inue kotan
atte shupuya ram urara kun-
ne kotan kuruka emoiatara.
Kotan noshikeke kamui
kat'tapkop roshki ruwe meu-
natara. Tan kiroro turu-
shittok hokayere, kamui
kat'tapkop cheurara konoipa
kaue. Tapkop tapka kamui
kat'chashi fushiko ash chashi
so ne gusu, fushko rasu
kunne nish ne kando koto-
korashuaka koatte kaue.
Ashir' ash rasu retan nish
kunne kando koto-
korash-
riki-kuru pumba kaue. Chu-
shi tapka nishpa tureube
kouish o shiri konoipa kaue.
Iukush kamui inkush bito
chashi tapka kolun epushi
hum-o-taune shuipa kaue.*

*Chishi tui oro aoshikiru,
poro chisei ehisei tek sama
aure-kushte puyara orotbe
ashikbosore. Iugar'an ruwe,
aye rok kuui Shipish un*

said this my guardian god
caused his cry to turn off
into the distant mountains.
'Then I had peace awhile.

I next rose up into the air
and went before a clear and
gentle wind. As I went
along down the river, the
sound of the waves beating
on the sea-shore came nearer
and nearer; and I could see
the pretty little river going
out upon the seas. Along
the banks of the river there
were very many towns and
villages, the smoke of which
ascended and hung over
them in clouds. In the
middle of these towns there
stood a mighty mountain,
having a stony winding path
leading to its summit. On
its top there was a great and
very ancient fortress, whose
old timbers went up into
the black skies and whose
new timbers pierced the
white heavens. On the top
of the fortress sat the trembl-
ing guardian gods of the
master. They were sending
forth a long, low, rumbling
sound.

I went into the fortress;
and walking up to the door
of a great house, peeped
through the cracks. There,
without doubt, I saw a man

guru aarakotomka poro guru tap ne aye kuni aramu rokbe oara shukup guru tam-paneba peken' unma po enotkiri kashi karun kane. Imi orogehe imut orogehe akoerayap guru abe teksam kosankokka e shitehiure. Uturugeta pon shiwentep oka ruwe ne. Akoro sapo Chiwashpet un mat patek tap ne pirika hunak aramu a koroka nep ne uwa, shiroka ya shiretok oroge aerayapte. Nei kashita nupurube so ne nupuri ipottum tusu ipottum eipottumma shinnai kane; neppa ambe eyaikowepeke-rebe chisei kou nishpa tu ok ne iporo eyaikari. Okai rok ine, rachiu-riki guru pumba kane, kurukashike itak ne manup ekutsam konna tununitara ene oka-hi:— "Akot tureshi ponram orowa chanan tusu po eyaikokanup e ne an a. Hetak tusu yan. Nenu an gusu tan an to otta kamui kuru oro yaikara humi aoyamokte na. Hetak tusu yan. Tusu ornshpe ann gusu ne na."

Sekoro itak. Tata otla pon shiwentep tusu ehipanup erurikiraeta kane, tusu rep

of the aforesaid *Shipish* people. He was a large fellow and full-grown, though quite young, for his chin was only just becoming a little dark with thin whiskers. He was sitting upon his knees by the fireside. I was very much surprised at his clothing and sword. There was also a little woman near him. Hitherto I had thought my elder sister alone could possess such beauty, but here I saw a woman whose charming looks surprised me. Above all, her countenance indicated that she was, in truth, a prophetess. The master of the house sat with his head hanging down as though they had been having some conversation. I then saw him raise his eyebrows and heard him say deep down in his throat. "My younger sister, ever since you were quite small you have now and then prophesied. Come, prophesy now. Why do I feel so strange at the sound which the gods sent forth from the cloud to-day; come prophesy, for I would hear."

When he had so spoken the little woman, putting on her ceremonial head-dress,

ni yai-kokarakara, tan shi-notcha eramukuchi kamui noye tusu orushipe esau charakashi chipitata ene oka-hi:—“Arekushikouna akoro pet po pet etokoho oma irami, irami kuruka wen tumiram ukohopuni, Kanepet uirup Shirarapet uirup Eturachichi shine-ikinne ramkopashitep Yaunguru nuttamuwatni koro eshishuiba; nakan ne koro ukopushpa tu kem shup oro ako-turainu; ki aige ka, nakan ne koro, shichupkata shine-ikinne uwatni koro eshishuiba; ki rok aine, hunak pakita Repun guru mnttam shinc-ikinne tnniba shutu chikoekaye; ahnu chuppok akoturainu; urara sakno Yaunguru muttam shichupkata tonnatara. Hontomota akoro pet po pet esoro pon Kesorap kando kotoreshishnye ki yak aramu; hontomota ene tereke-hi aerampetek koro kotusu yupu, aki aine, pon Kesorap apto num ne yaikara kane toi shoshi nturu chipeshishite ki rok aine, ingara gusu, kanna rui no pon Kesorap ne okai hine, akoro pet po pet esoro

commenced to beat the ground; and then with the deep voice of a god she prophesied with such a delightful song and said:—“A war has suddenly arisen above the precipices towards the source of our river I see the swords of the inhabitants of *Shirarapet* and *Kanepet* together with that of the *Eturachichi* all mixed up in fight with that of the *Yaunguru*. Now they are all lost in two great wounds. Now they all go mixed up together towards the east. All at once the swords of the *Repun*²⁸ people are broken off close to the guards and they go towards the west. The sword of the *Yaunguru*²⁹ goes off to the cloudless east. Now I see something like a little *Kesorap*³⁰ coming skimming across the skies towards our little river's mouth; I have never before seen anything dance so much; I must pull myself together to prophesy about it. The little *Kesorap* has turned itself into a drop of rain and is coming beneath

²⁸ *Repun* i.e. the *Karaito* or *Saghalien* people.

²⁹ *Yaunguru* i.e. Our hero, the brave *Ainu*.

³⁰ *Kesorap* is said to be the name of some bird now extinct; here, however, it is intended for our hero.

sapruwe ne. Arekushkonna akoro kotan wen tumiram kohetuku, eattlereke ne use kuru kotan wentoikanto akokiru kara. Tap orowa no Yaunguru muttam akoro yupi ramkopashtep uwatni koro eshishuiba, tu kem shup oro akoturainu. Makan ne koro, turu sak no po urara sak no shichupkata uwatni koro eshishuiba, ki rok line; iyoshserekere, nekon ne humi akoro yupi ramkopashtep tunba shutu chikoekaye, tu kem shup oro akoturainu. Yaunguru muttam shichupkata tomatare ki yak aramu. Pak no ne koro, ashik etoko ushikosamba ki ruwe ne na. Hoiyo tusu aki humi hetap ne nangora."

Sekoro itak; aine chisei kon'nishpa koro wenburi enan kurukashi chiparasere. Kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Usaine katap a wen tureshi hoiyo hawe aoyane ne na. Ashinuma anak Ainu tumi yayaitarep a ne ruwe ne. Kamui tumi ayaikotonikap ne ruwe ne.

the ground. Now I see it has again become a little *Kesorap* and is coming towards the mouth of our river. A grievous war comes suddenly upon our town, and the people are quickly killed and the place devastated. Next I see the sword of the *Yaunguru* and that of my elder brother mixed up together in fight. Now they are both lost in two great wounds; they go off to the pure cloudless east, still striving together. I am afraid, for the sword of my elder brother is broken off close to the guard with a tremendous sound and is lost in two great wounds. The sword of the *Yaunguru*, I believe, goes to the east.³¹ Having seen thus far, the light is extinguished from before my eyes, and I feel as though I have been foretelling evil things."

So spake the little woman. Then the master of the house, having wrath depicted upon his countenance, said:—"My bad younger sister, the various most evil things you have now said deserve only to be ridiculed. I am a person who does not fight with men, but who delights in

31 i.e. the Ainu hero conquers her brother.

Toi Repunbe utarihi shukup ebitta Poiyaumbe curamtekuk anu koro an an, ki koroka iki, ratchi irengu eyamorep a ne gusu, hembara ka araki yakka ratchi irenga pirika irenga actunangara ki kuni-hi aramu kor'an an. Kamui kat'tusu ne yakka aarakatoroke epoknare, awen tureshi ki hawe an;" sekoro itak. Tata otta pon shiwentep nan kurukashi chiukushi kane; kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Usaine katap akoro yupi hanki hawe aoyane ne na. Nep kara gusu shunge tusu aki kuni akoro yupi ramu gusu ene itak ki, tambe ne ya?" sekoro itak.

Tata otta puyara orotbe amanposore iteme-ni ka ukotuikosamu. Eshish-on wa charahi so un tu niwentoiru iteme-ni kata aki-hi nei no, tan poro chisei penutkurukan isam-isam; ikushpe kata aman tereke humi oro ne ambe kitunitara. Nishpa chisei chisei sopa ta nishpa inuma kimatek humi ramutui humi, koshne kamui ukolum guru turupa kane; gusu hum ashbe chisei kon'nishpa oyamokte eutunne wa

warring with the gods. I hear that the bad people of *Repun-land* have been fighting against *Poiyaumbe* during the whole of his life; but because I am a man of peace I always go forth to meet those who come to me with words of peace. Even if your prophecy is from god, it was delivered to me by you with intent to harm me, or my bad younger sister." When he had finished speaking, the little woman shed tears and said:—"The various things my elder brother now says are to be ridiculed. Wherefore does my brother think that I have prophesied lies to him? For what reason should I do so?"

I then slipped through the door like wind and got upon the upper beams of the house. I walked along these with mighty heavy steps and shook the roof of this great house exceedingly, making the rafters dance and creak upon the walls. This splendid mansion, with all its grand treasures, trembling in great fear, sent forth a mighty cry, together with the little house gods. This noise made the master of the house look

eronne wa chikosarire, anak ki koroka, pon shiwentep seenne tani oshkepnmba okarurwe ne. Nei rapoketa iteme-ni ka wa omaisho, kuruka akotuikosamba, chisei kon nishpa kanui otopi atekkonoye eronne wa entunne wa ahosarire; kuruka-shike aitak omare ene okahi:—"Ingara gusu Shipish un guru, tan rametok nep ta e ye ya? kannu ye yan, anu kusu ne na. Nep ken kata Kamni-otopush pirika shiri aatenina pon shungu shungu kitai akoshinashina? Ikemnu an gusu Kanepet uirup Shirarapet uirup Pon moshiri un guru Eturaehichi akotnmi koro. Tnmi tui-kata shipish un guru kon'-rametok aishitomare ki wa kush tap araki an na. Ratehi irenga pirika irenga e sange yakka anu shomoki na. Urametok uwande an wa uwokot anak, rai oro orowa no uewa ne yakka ayaikotomka ki nangon ua. Ikoyaiyuppa e ki uangon na."

Sekoro itak an koro, kanui rametok uturuge un pon shiwentep araukotapu ateksaikari riknnshui kata arikikatta; kurukashike

first one way and then another in great surprise; but the little woman did not move at all. I then came down from the beams to the head of the fire-place and, seizing the lord by the hair of his head with my hand, turned it first one way and then another; after that I said:—"Look here, *Shipish* man, what sort of bravery did you say you had? Repeat what you said before, for I desire to hear. Why was the good Curly-head taken and tied up to the great pine tree? It was to avenge him that I fought against the people of *Kanepet* and *Shirarapet* as well as against the *Eturaehichi*, of *Pon moshiri*. Now, as this war is raging, I have come to test the bravery of the *Shipish* men. I will hear no words of peace, even if you speak them. We must measure our swords, for even if we kill one another, we shall be better off after death. Now, come, do your very best against me."

After I had said this, I seized the little woman as she sat by that very brave man and carried her out through the window. Then

pon shiwentep chishrimimse eiram-kotoro-mewe kane ene itak-hi:—"Shunge tusu aki sekoro akoro yu^{pi} itak, awa, shunge ne shiri inambe ne ya? Nei moshiri nirup nei kotan uirup usshiu tek-pashte iyekarakan'na, ikatunashka ikore yan;" *sekoro itak hita, chisei kon'-nishpa temka konua chara-kosanu, aki wa ruibe iruetok-ta tu wan tam chipa rikuu shuika euran-kuruka kushte kane, aitamniukeshte, hetopo horoka puyara kuruka akocherana eshitaiki. Iki an rokbe, iru-etokta puyat tui-kata tu wan tam chipa renkosamba. Tap orowa no itasa chikap ashikopayara, chisei kankotoro tek-ush chikap ne arakokira; kamui rametok koro wenburi enankurukashi ipukitara; kurukashike otushiwenba shirotatpa ene oka-hi:—*"Awen tureshi tusu ne yakka aarakat oroge epok-nare ki rok gusu, hoshiki no po awen tureshi atuiba kusu ne." *Sekoro itak koro, ko't tureshi inkotama wa olutam iworo iyeterekere. Tamkikhumbetamchash hine ariknapuni kip ne, koroka, kotam eyoki oara shomoki nei-hi korachi, pon shiwen-*

she wept and, with an encouraging voice, said:—"My elder brother, you said that I had prophesied lies, which of that I spake is false? I am being carried off a prisoner by the people of that country; come and save me." When she had said this the master of the house began to strike with his sword; he set upon me so fiercely that before I could get out of the window he had aimed twenty blows at me; in short, he made it so difficult for me that I came down backwards from the window; yea, he went at me so earnestly that while I was between the window and the floor he struck other twenty blows at me. After this we flew about too and fro in the roof of the house like birds; till at last this brave lord, having evident wrath upon his face, spake in an angry and scolding manner and said:—"As you, my bad younger sister, prophesied in order to discourage me I will first slay you, you evil creature!" When he had said this he attacked his sister with vehemence and set upon us fiercely. I then held her up before me as a shield, but

*tep atektuipoki atektuikashi
kotuk-kotuk-, homatu-matu
nei-hi korachi, kamui rame-
tok kamui san-nanu emakna-
kuru otettereke esannakuru
ottettereke.*

*Rapoketa pon shiwentep
hange itak iko-arikire ene
oka-hi:—"E ek katuhu nei-
kesama aerampeutek ka
shomoki; koroka son no
ambe, akoro yupihi tusu ne
yakka arakat oroge aepok-
nare ki hawe ne na. Iyo-
pichi yan wen yattuipo iko-
kararuse nei no poka e
kaobiuki ki kusu ne na;"*
*sekoro itak. Tambe gusu
atekshurare omai shokata
tek kuwapo echararuse
arapa; hontom ehépita,
upshor'un tam esereponnu,
koro yupihi yupke tamkuru
koterekere, kurukashike itak
omare ene oka-hi:—"Awen
koro yupi ramma-ramma
akot'tusu e eumbipka; tambe
ani kamui rametok i kotama
wa ituiba rusui ki shiri ne,
yak ne, kamui rametok
kashi-chiobiuki aekarakara*

even that did not cause him to cease striking. The little woman clung to my arm in fear; she slipped round it, now being under and now above it; and whenever she saw an opportunity she either put her foot into my lord's beautiful face, and thrust his head backwards or set it upon the back of his neck and pushed his head forward.

After a time the little woman spake with a soft voice and said:—"I know everything about your coming here, and in truth, I prophesied to my brother in order to render him faint-hearted. Let me down, for though I am as worthless as an old mat, I desire to join you and will help you in the fight." So spake she; I therefore let her down. She fell upon the floor at the head of the fire-place and crawled along upon her hands and feet. She soon got up, however, and drawing a dagger from her bosom attacked her brother fiercely, she then said to him:—"My bad elder brother, you have always disbelieved my prophecies, and you now desire to slay both this brave man

gusu ne nangon na. Awen koro yabi chikoyaiyuppa iyekarakar'au, sekoro itak koro, kamui ne an guru otutam iworo eterekere. Ki rok aine, use nishpa utarahi hayok num ikiri puyat'tui kata apa tuikata ahup kunip ukata tereke. Tap orowa no, tu piukitoiru apa tuika un puyat'tuika un tu pin-kitoiru ankukushite. Omai-sho kuruka chimoyoyo inne ntara ukata tereke.

Pon menoko etun a ne wa ainu tuye akopenram-turi charake kane. Nei rapoketa anun turembe ituren kamui shine kamui ne uhumkoraye; chashi tapka kohum epushiba hum teksama tan kamui mau chierange, apa tuikata puyat'tuikatu aoshma rera amsho kuruka chipatupatu. Chari abe abe kan'nipek kamui mau puni; ki rok aine, nei a chisei mikotereke. Horak humi-hi kotpoketa usoina pashte aki ruwe. Mak un numikiri shinna kane, op kon'numi ikonumbara sapte kane; emush kon

and me; I am therefore going to help him against you. My bad elder brother, put forth all your strength against us." When she had finished speaking, she set upon him mightily with her dagger. While this was going on, so great a number of armed common people pressed in at the doors and windows that they were trampling upon one another. We then attacked them very fiercely, first going to one end of the hut and then to the other. Crowds of people were also trampling upon one another even at the head of the fire-place.

The little woman and I stretched out our necks and commenced to cut the people down, while doing this the guardian god of these people, together with mine, in unison sent forth a loud cry; the cry ascended from the top of the house. Besides this sound a great wind descending, blew in at the doors and windows of the house, and played about the floors and made the already burning fire burst forth into greater flame. After a time the house caught fire and, before it fell down, everybody rushed out.

numi heru tamkuri chishikayebare. Tap orowa no arokamkin'no akip ne gusu, inne utara atamsaotte pon shiwentep temkorosama anopashite koro tu punetoi ne ukata tereke; ki rok iki, shine ehinika choroka tereke oara shomoki, ainu tuye kopenramturi charake kane.

Nei rapoketa ingar'hike tnima moshiri moshit'tap-kata tan kamui knru chihetuknre; ai tereke shiri shikopayara. Kurnkashike pase kamui humrarire; makan Utarapa iteksam peka horaochiwe. Ingar'an gusu Kamui-otopush akoro yupi ne ruwe ne. Itamteshpare atamteshpare. Tap orowa no nep atuye wa pon shiwentep nep tuye wa shiriki ya! Kamui-otopush heru tamkuri chishikayere, kari kush-i chisama so ne chitnima turi. Nei rapoketa, Shipish un guru kamui rametok otushiwenpashiro-tatpa:—"Toi ne nam ne awen tureshi epirika kunipituitap-

The faint-hearted ones went behind the rest and the spearmen came forward to attack us with their spears, while the swordsmen merely flourished their weapons. After this I went at them, and purposely drove them into the very arms of the little woman. Here they rushed upon one another and trampled each other down. Nevertheless the little woman stood her ground without going back so much as a single step, and, leaning forward, cut and slew.

At that time I saw a mighty cloud arise above the mountain a very long way off. It seemed to rise up swift as an arrow; with it came the sound of the true god, and after the sound a lord came down to my side. When I looked at him, I saw that he was my elder brother, the Curly-head. We saluted one another with our swords. After this, how he did fight! Why, the strokes of my sword and those of the little woman were as mere shadows to his, for he cleared the way before him with the greatest ease. Then the august *Shipish* man angrily said:—You abominably bad

uibe koochiupashte? Tambe ani, autaripo e ikurukasam tam omare ki shiri an a. Tap an tumi tumi tuikashi e eparagoat ki naugon na. Pirika no nu," sekoro itak. Nei rapoketa arckushkonua pon shiwentep chishiriiumse. Riminse tuika itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu kamui rametok, itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Ekoro sapo Chiwashpet un mat kon-rorunbe tu pishkau kotau oarapa aine, tuima kaue Chirinuai ari aye kotau oro ekoro sapo oarapa, awa, tane anak ne tumuuchi kamui koro kotauu oarapap ne gusu, atuiba kotou aronuu kotomue ne a an na. Eikomore ki wa ne yak ne ekoro sapo e uukan ruwe shomo ne na. Tan rorunbe tan tumuuchi Kamui-otopush shinen ne akohoppa pirika na. Ekoro sapo kashiopas au."

Sekoro itak koro, kando koto ro koshietaye. Tata otta tam rawechiu aki line, pon shiwentep seturu kashi aehopuni. Arapa an shiri ene aui:—"Makan ne koro, tuunai pak no tunnai kasu itoikohoppa; kurukashike ikohoroka tuyotnyo ene itak-hi:—"Sambe o guru e ne

woman, ought you to have gone over to the side of that son of a wicked man? You have helped thus to slay our relations. You will certainly be punished by the gods for what you have done. Listen to what I have said." Then the little woman suddenly burst into tears, and said to me:—"Look here, brave man, I have a word to say, so pay attention. Your elder-sister, the woman of *Chiwashpet*, has carried her war into many villages around; she also went to a distant country which has the name of *Chirinuai*. And now, as the war has gone to the land of the warriors themselves, she is likely to be slain. If you are not quick you will not be able to see your sister again. Go to the aid of your sister and leave the Curly-head here, for he will be sufficient for this war."

When she had said this, she withdrew to the skies, and I, sheathing my sword went after her. The way we proceeded was on this wise. The woman was going along a bow-shot or more ahead of me, after a while she faced about, and said:—"You are surely a brave and skilful

koroka he apkash otta ianra-poke ekari shiri tambe ne ya? Rui no nitan; "sekoro itak koro, arikiki an koro tunnai pak no tunnai kasu atuima kuru hoppa-hoppa ine; hunakta paye an koro inne kotan chiruru kosange kotan pakehe homara kane; kotan noshikehe tan poro chashi eroshki ruwe meun-atara; puta un ehashi chashi kam putaha, makan ne koro, range kando nish teksama eshishuye. Hetopohoroka chashi kam puta uruki humi naikosamba, ki koro shir'an. Tane awa, pon shiwentep ene itak-hi:—"Tap an kotan rei-koro katu Tereke-santa Hopuni-santa ye ruwe ne gusu, pon no irammokka aki gusu ne na. Ikaoyoko ikoropare yan;" sekoro itak koro, rikun shuika chiorange teksami oroge aiorange. Ingar'an ruwe iyainomare sekoro nishpa imut orogehe hayokbe orogehe akoerayap guru oshisho un wa abe teksami kosankokkae shitehiure oka ruwe ne. Uturugeta, inambe nam ne shiwentep pirikap an a nangora! Shiretok oroge nan ka oroge aerayap kash-pap; nan nipeki ketuku chup ne iyenuchupki chiure kane.

man, yet you are being beaten in travelling; come, go faster." Upon this I put forth more strength and went a bow-shot or more in front of her. As we went along I dimly saw a great number of villages lying along the seashore. In the centre of these villages I saw a very great fortress, above which the clouds hung like a roof, and which came down and settled upon it with a clash. Now the little woman said:—"The names of this place are *Tereke-santa* and *Hopuni-santa*, we will have a little fun, so please wait a bit." When she had said this she went down to the upper window of the house, and I went down to her. On peering in I was very much surprised, for there sat, upon his knees, on the left-hand side of the fire-place a man whose bearing, sword and armour greatly astonished me. Oh what a beautiful creature I saw sitting by his side! I was astonished at the beauty of her countenance; for the light issued from her face like the rays of the rising sun and dazzled me.

Tata otta Shipish un mat rikun shuika wa pon shiwentep raukotapa teksayekare, rikun shuika koesoyoshima. Tata otta pon shiwentep chishrimimse eiramkotoro meu-pa harwe ene oka-hi:—"Nei moshiri nirup usshiu tekpa-shte iyekarakar'an na. Akoro yupi, ikatunashka ikoropare yan," sekoro itak. Tata otta chisei kon nishpa humse harwe kari kane, pon shiwentep ikakashi yairarire, rikun shuika koesoyoshima. Tata otta yupke tanukuru akoterekere. Tupne repne ansatnye. Inotu oroge hopumba humi keurototke. Tap orowa no pon shiwentep Shipish un mat shitom ne ambe kotekote, rupne watara nokun watara ekik humi yaknatara. Ikem-nu kentum ayaikoropare; eunkashi no Shipish un mat atuiba angi yaiuu an koro, paye an aine kunak pakita Shipish un mat shitemnikor'un pon shiwentep tupne repne usatnye. Inotu oroge hopuni humi keurototke. Tap orowa no paye ap aine, aye rok kuni Chirinnai kotan aarakotomka kotan tapkashi tumuuchi urara koerachitke; kurukashike ukattuima no tu

Then the woman of Shipish went in, and seizing this pretty little woman, carried her off through the window. As she was being taken away, she wept and called to her brother, saying:—"The inhabitants of a strange country are carrying me off prisoner. Oh my elder brother, come and help me. Upon this the master of the house gave a grunt and came out through the window to rescue the little woman. I then set upon him with my sword and killed him. His soul went up with a great sound. The Shipish woman now took the little woman by her clothes and beat her upon the great rocks and the little ones. When I saw this I had a great desire to avenge her and went for that purpose. But as I was going, all at once the Shipish woman cut her severely and killed her. Her soul went up with a great sound. After this we went on our way; and as we proceeded, I saw, hanging above the mountains of the land, which was doubtless the aforesaid Chirinnai country, a cloud

30 It is an Ainu idea that it was quite impossible to kill one of the ancients without cutting through the back-bone.

*kamui rai hum re kamui rai
hum uhum nikorokekke ka-
ne; akoro sapo Chiwashpet
un mat turen kamui tushiyok
humu moshiri shokuruka
koluum oranakekke kane;
koikayupa aki hine, akoshi-
reba wa, ingar'an ruwe, ene
katkimat akoro sapo ue rok
awa, mi kosoude heru penram
tekokbare; heru ikkewe
akoninkesh kara oshike-op
hohoetetke.*

*Tane anak ne tu shui tam
shuye utur'oroge koyainu
tumnu, koyaislikar'un; nei
ututta ainu tuye koarikili,
ki koroka iki, tek samata
horaochiwe aki hine, iunkan
rokbe shikkesh konna kopu-
yuyese, kurukashike itak
omare ene oka-hi:—"Ingara
gusu, aresu kamui, itak an
chiki pirika no nu. Wen
shiwentep a ne gusu rai an
akka kotan ewenbe moshir'-
ewenbe shomonena. Eanitap
ne e rai wa ne yak, kotan
ewen na. Rui no shichari,
rui no moimoige, iruokake
eyomare yak ayaikotomka ki
nangon na," sekoro itak.
Tap orowa no pishkanike
aetamani isenram-sekoro nep*

which was evidently stirred up as by war, and heard a continual roar as of many gods being slain. The guardian god of my elder sister of *Chiwashpet* now sent forth a great cry of defeat. This made me proceed with enhanced speed; and when we arrived I saw my sister in a dreadful condition. Her clothes were all gone, for her arms were sticking out of nothing but two holes, and her body was so cut up that she had only her backbone left.

I now saw her strike twice with her sword and then faint away. She quickly came too again and fought with renewed vigour. I then came down to her side. Upon which she wept, and said:—"Look here, you whom I brought up, I have a word to say, so please listen. I am a worthless woman; so that even if I die, the country and towns will not be conquered; whereas if you die the country will be laid waste. Scatter the enemy entirely, and make them flee quickly, after I am gone, then I shall be happy." After this I attacked the enemy all around me, while, as before, the woman

atuye wa nep araige wa Shipish un mat tamani shiri ne nangora! Kari-kushi chisama so ne chituima turi; ainu rai-chep moshiri kurukata chipiratekka aepokishiri ku uok kane. Nei rapoketa akoro sapo eshitchishiri komuru kosamba, kurukashike iwan op num tek koeraoshma kotpoki un arankotapu ateksayekare shitemmikor'un tup ne rep ne ausatuye; kando koto aeshuye kara; kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:— "Akoro ainu nomi kamni Chiwashpet un mat ireshpa shiri pirikarok na. Ituibapuibe newa ne yakka kewe tusare ikoropareyan;" sekoro itak an koro, ouse kando aeshuye kara atekehe wa no ashiri kamui ne shiknu kamui ne Yaunguru moshiri moshit'tapkushi kohum terekere.

Tap orowa no Shipish un mat e tun a ne hine tuima an aine, tane anak ne Chirin-nai kotan wentoikanto akokiru kara; ki rok awa, Shipish un mat nan kurukashi chikush kane, kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—

of Shipish did wondrously and laid the people out like mats. The corpses were scattered over the country so thickly that I could not walk without touching them with my feet. I now saw my sister fall headlong upon the ground, and ten spears were thrust at her; but before they could strike I snatched her away, but, while doing this was myself severely wounded. I then waved her towards the skies, and said:—"Oh my father, to whom I offer libations, I pray thee to look upon the woman of Chiwashpet, for she has brought me up well. Though she is the daughter of a murderess, pray forgive her." When I had finished speaking and while I still held her in my hands, she became a new and living goddess and went off to the land of the Yaunguru with a great sound.³¹

Now the woman of Shipish and I were left alone to finish the battle, we utterly devastated and laid waste the land of Chirinnai. When this was done she said to me, with tears in her eyes:—"There is now no lord of

³¹ The idea is that by waving the woman in his hands her spirit returned to her, and she went to the home of our hero at Shinutapka.

"Chirinuai kotan ainu utarapa shinnatoi ne isam kotan ne ruwe ne; anak ki koroka, Chirinnai kotan moshit'chup poki ruyambe nitne shiriwen nitne turesh tura no ekotan koro. Naa samata, Kuruise nitne utari innep Chirinnai kotan kotan chuppoki ekotan koro. Kuruise tumi ikohopumba ki yak anak ne, ainu tumunchi tupe repe aekashure ohuiyoro ne ukokushishpa shikuu kunip a ne nangora aeramushkari. Kuruise tumi okake an koro, ruyambe nitne shiriwen nitne ikotumi koro. Shiwentep ne hike shinnatoi ne ikoiki nangoro. Okkaiyo ne hike e etunangara; okkaiyo e ne gusu shiriwen nitne e annuraige ki nangon na. Shiwentep a ne gusu shiriwen nitne kot'turesh ikoiki yak ne, o-chin tusurep a ne a koroka, a annutuiba ki kotom noine a an na. E ikosauire ki wa ne yak ne eshik otta arakamiyashi iraige chiki e kotom ruwe shomo ne na."

Sekoro itak rapoketa, Chirinnai kotan moshit'chup poki kunne urara kohetuku.

the people of Chirinuai, but the demon of damp bad weather, who lives towards the west, will rule over this country together with his younger sister. Besides this, multitudes of Kuruise³² demons will come to Chirinnai and govern its western parts, and will make an exceedingly grievous war against us, and I cannot tell whether we shall live through it or not. After the war with the Kuruise, the demons of bad and damp weather will fight against us. The women will fight by themselves and you must meet the men, and, as you are a man, you must kill the demon of bad weather; I, being a woman, will meet the younger sister of the demon; and, though I am a worthless prophetess, yet I shall slay her. If you do not fight hard I shall be slain before your very eyes by these demons, and that will not enhance your glory."

While she was saying this a black fog arose in the west³³ of the land of Chirin-

³² These Kuruise are supposed to be some kind of insect or small animal.

³³ The west is supposed to be the special abode of the demons, as the east is looked upon as the home of the gods.

*Hontomota nei a urara
 iyarakurukashi konishta-
 papu ekurok toshiri aiyeotke
 shem korachi hum ash awa ;
 tap orowa no chikap hene ya
 ipishkanita paye humi shiu-
 shiwatki nei-hi korachi atn-
 nam kashi akushre meshpa
 araure meshpa, aesambe kese
 chish kot kane. Neppa ne
 ya aetam etoko meunataru.
 Neita shiripekere neita shiri-
 kunne ya aerampeutek.
 Kunne urara urat'tumu
 aukowende, ki rok aine, tane
 ne gusu ami kosonde hern
 peuram atek okbare ; aleru
 ikkewe aikoniukesh. Makan
 tam ani akoyainu tunnn iki
 anaine, kunne urara kando
 koto ro koechanchange ; piri ka
 shukus chishiriann. Nekon
 kat korobe akoiki humi ne a
 an ya aerampeutek. Nei a
 otta Shipish un mat atumam
 kashi husse echiu nei-hi
 korachi arnpue piri a nokan
 piri uchiu wa paye, tnsa wa
 paye. Shipish un mat yai-
 tumam ka husse echiu nei-hi
 korachi rupne piri nokan
 piri uchiu wa paye. Ani
 kosonde fushko an a-hi chi-
 tennep nere ki ruwe ne koro :*

nai. In a short time it came up over us, so that it was as though we were going under a river's bank where it is dark. After this I heard a whirl all round me as of many birds in flight. They came and settled upon my body and began to tear my flesh, so that I felt I must call out with the pain. I made them rattle upon my sword. I knew not the day from night and was in the black fog being eaten up by these creatures. After a while I saw that my clothing was devoured, that my arms were sticking out of nothing but sleeve-holes, and that I had only my back-bone left. While fighting with my sword, I fainted away. When I revived, I found that the black fog was gone and the weather was good again. But I could not understand what kind of things I had been fighting with. Then the *Shipish* woman came and breathed upon my body, and all my wounds were healed, and I got quite well. She then blew upon herself in the same way, and every one of her wounds likewise were healed. As for my garments, why, my old clothes were like

Ashirikinne Chirinnai kotan kotan chuppokke rurambe urara shiriwen urara koletuku, moshiri shokuruka atuishokuruka konish pirasa. Tap an wenshiri horaochiwe! Hontomota ainu hetap ne nangora. Atusa-kamka kotuwatuwak; nan ne korobe soslike pira shikopuyara. Pon nupuri tek aushte ehikiri aushte shem korachi. Okai ainu kanchipakbe shito-mnshi. Seturu kashita kim otbe tonto repotbe tonto auwekarape tonto hayokbe mi shiwentep ariki ruwe ne. Shipish un mat koyaisan-a-sapte kane; fure epesep yaikokarakara; enan-san konua tumu-natki kane; Shipish un mat yupke tamkuru koterekere, otutani iworo oretum iworo aeterekere. Rapoketa atusa ainu yupke tamkuru ikoterekere; anraipoka ayaiko-ninkesh, tambe ani peken'rera ne utarapa shuyep tam uturu aeshinene. Itashpa pak no nypke tamkuru ako-terekerep; iki koroka, tam epushi oara shoinoki. Anotaugi awentaugi ki hike ka, tam oshma-i hashtumane chipa-

those of a baby³⁴ compared with the ones I had now.

Again I saw a fog of damp, bad weather arise and spread over the land and sea towards the west of *Chirinnai*. Such bad weather came upon us! Then something appeared which looked like a man. The naked body of this thing was of a mangy nature; its face resembled a cliff from the side of which the land had slipped, and its arms and legs looked as though they belonged to a mountain. This man had a sword stuck in his girdle that looked like a boat-scuttle. There also came a woman clothed in the skins of land and sea animals, wearing armour made of leather. This woman came down to the side of the *Shipish* woman with a large knife in her hand, which she put up before her face. Upon this the *Shipish* woman attacked her fiercely with her sword and set upon her with fearful blows. And now the naked man came upon me in a desperate manner; but, as I did not wish to die, I turned myself into air and

34 i.e. the clothes his comrade had prepared for him were, as compared with what he had before, very good and beautiful.

yere. Ene wa shi no aekot kuni aerampeutek. Hnnak pakita ingar'an hike, hayokbe numat uruki ruwe aeramu an. Ayaipirika shitotkere. Hukak pakita amut emushi pirika opue ayaikokarakara; ashiriko-otke kamni reugai 'ne hapurn op sepne, aop etoko peikosanu. Atusa ainu ainu ne kunak aramu rokbe atni shokuruka koarasat-chep ne. Oro oyachiki, hayokbe ne a an hayokbe upshoro wa makkan korobe chisoikutta, poro kuttapue oka kunak aramu rokbe awa, oara heikachi oara shukup gurn ne rok oka. Ine rokbe gusu, shiriwen nitue shiretok koro wa shiroka ya aeramushkare. Earukaparabe yaikonoye; kamui rangetam kutpokinuu; kurukashike itak omare ene oka-hi:—

escaped between his strokes. After that, I attacked him as fiercely as he had me, but my blows had not the least effect upon him. Although I struck him hard several times, my efforts were useless; it was truly difficult to make an impression. By and by I discovered where the fastenings of his armour were, and aimed only at cutting them. Presently I made a splendid sword thrust, and, by the help of god, cut the throngs by which his armour was fastened. Then he whom I thought to be a man spread himself out over the sea like a dried fish; and out of the armour there came a surprising thing! I thought there was a big person in that armour; but quite a little lad came out of it. Dear me, out of that evil weather cloud came a more handsome fellow than I had ever seen before! He was clothed in a beautiful garment and had a splendid sword in his girdle. He spake to me and said:—

“Iyainomare, Poiyaunbe, ainu hetap e ne shiri an kamui ne yakka tumu an kamui iko-wende-hi aeramushkarip, akor'hayokbe nei

“I am surprised O Poiyaunbe, for you are but a man, and yet have destroyed my armour, which the gods, numerous though they are,

*rok awa ; iko-wende ki ap
 gusu, upak utarapa kayokbe
 sak no ukoiki wa gusu,
 uwekot akka moshiri pa ta
 moshiri gesh ta easuru ash
 kip ne gusu, nrametok uwan-
 de an ki kusu ne na ; "*
*sekoro itak koro, temka kon-
 na shikayekaye, yupke tam-
 kuru ikoterekere, ki koroka
 iki, peken'rera ne tam uturu
 amaunoyere. Itasa pak no
 yupke tamkuru akoterekere.
 Arutam kochupuchupu an,
 ki rok aine, hunak pakita
 kamui rengai ne atui pa lumi
 astam etoko serekosamba ;
 tuirop lumi atuishokata
 kora-ochiwe. Inotu oroge
 hopuni lumi keurototke.
 Kashokake chakkosamba.
 Shinnatoi ne Shipish un
 mat shiriwen nitne kot'ture-
 shi arutam kochupn kane ;
 tonto hayokbe anotaugi kara
 awentaugi kara tam oshima-
 hi hashtumane chipayere.
 Shomo eannu Shipish un
 mat anotaugi awentaugi
 hemban nisap tumam kashike
 wen kem pana ehopuni. Tek
 samata aki hine, tonto hayok-
 be huyuina wa auwanpare
 ki rok aine, hayokbe numat
 uruki ruwe aeramu an.
 Amut emushi pirika op ne
 ayaikokarakara. Hayokabe
 numat aokpekare kamui ren-*

were unable to break ; as you
 have done this, I will fight
 you without armour. Even
 though we are both killed,
 our fame will be spread over
 the whole world. Come, let
 us measure our strength."

When he had said this he
 drew his sword and attacked
 me furiously ; but, since I
 turned myself into air, I only
 whistled about his sword.
 I then set upon him as he
 had me. While we were
 fighting, all at once I cut him
 by the help of god I cut him
 up, and he fell into the sea in
 pieces. His soul departed
 with a sound, and after that
 the air was cleared. At
 some distance away the
 woman of Shipish was com-
 bating with the younger
 sister of the demon of bad
 weather, and though she
 struck hard upon her armour,
 the blows had no effect
 whatever ; yet, fighting with-
 out the least sign of giving
 in, she suddenly received a
 dreadful wound and bled
 profusely. I went to the
 side of them, scrutinized the
 leather armour well, and
 noted where the fastenings
 of it were. I then took my
 sword and made a capital
 thrust, severing the thongs.

gai ne hapuru op sepne a-op etoko peikosamba. Tonto hayokbe atui shokuruka oara satchep ne. Hayokbe osshi wa pon shiwentep ehisoikatta. Shipish un mat patek tap ne pirika kunak aramu a koroka, shiriwen nitne kot'tureshi kamui ne gusu kamni shirikashi yaiyeka-unu; kurukashike shietu-uina shipa-ra-uina ene itak-hi :—

“Ainu hetap, Poiyaumbe, e ne shiri an, kamui ne yakka ikowende-hi aeramushkarip akor'hayokbe ne rok awa, ikowende kara. Kamui anak ne hayok sak koro hapurube ne gusu, iyaumtniba ki wa ne yakka e mut emushi aetui yak un, rai oro orowa no ayaikotomka ki nangan'na. Ikineipeka Shipish un mat ituiba na,” sekoro itak. Hawash rokbe Shipish un mat otushiwen pashirotpa ene oka-hi :—“Usaine katap wen shiwentep itak hawe aoyane ne na. Shiwentep ne yakka hayok sak no urametok uwande yak ne uwekot yakka rai oro orowa no ka easuru ash kip, tap an kamui shiri korobe e ne tuikata tonto

By the help of god, there was the sound of my sword piercing the fastenings. The armour then flew open above the sea like a dried fish; and from the inside of it there came a little woman. I thought the woman of Shipish only could be so beautiful, but as she was the younger sister of the demon of bad weather, she was able to have a most handsome face. She was exceedingly surprised and said :—

“O Poiyaumbe, you are but a man, and yet you have broken my armour which the gods have failed to do. When the gods are without armour they are soft, so that even if you kill me—even if your sword cuts me—I shall after death, be much better off. Come, O woman of Shipish, you must put forth your strength or you will be killed.” Then the woman of Shipish cursed her and said :—“The various things which this bad woman has said deserve only ridicule. Even if women fight and strive together without armour and they are both slain, their fame will be spread abroad after death. You,

*hayokbe rep otbe tonto kim'-
otbe tonto auwekara hayokbe
e mi wa gusu, aetuiba poka
ewen-itara, aran-nu no po
ituiba rok wa, annukippo
aemontasa ki gusu nep.
Hemanda gusu aetuiba kuni
e kopan haroe, tambe ne ya?"*
*Sekoro itak koro yupke tam-
kuru shiriwen nitne kotere-
kere. Hopumba tomon tup
ne rep ne nsatnye. Tap
orowa no inotu oroge hopuni
humi keurototke. Oanrai
kuni kotpoketa shiknu kamui
ne shichup kata arapa humi
keurototke.*

*Pak no ne koro, Shipish
un mat pon shiwentep ene
itak-hi:—"Iyokaketa Ka-
muu-otopush Shipishi un
guru ukoiki aine, Shipish
un guru aanutui ruwe
tapan. Shi no rametok otuye
katuhu nep ne gusu oanrai
kamui ne, kamui moshiri
oarapa hine isam ruwe ne.
Pak no ne koro, ituibap-uibe
a ne a gusu tande pota e teke
ani ituiba yak un rai oro
orowa no ka ayaikotomka ki
ruwe ne na. Shomo newa
un, cheshikiraine iyekara-
kara wa e koro kotan un
itura yak ne firika ki na.
Naa samata, shomo okaibe
rorumbe kamui kiroro*

who are like a god, have, besides, been clothed in armour made of the skins of various land and sea animals: therefore I was unable to harm you, and you only were able to strike me, and that by striving very hard. Why is it that you say you did not care to slay me?" When she had said this, she set upon the bad weather demon fiercely, and slew her ere she could rise. Her soul departed with a great noise. The defeated one became a living god and went towards the east with a great sound.

After this the little woman of the land of Shipish said:—"After the Curly-head went and fought with the Shipish man, the Shipish man was defeated and slain. And, as he died fighting bravely, he became a god and went to the land of the gods, and is no more upon the earth. All this has been done; now, I know I am a very worthless creature, so please kill me with your own hand, for after death I shall be better off than now. If you do not slay me, then take pity on me and let me go with you to your home, and I will serve you. Moreover, do not go

kashure ne ruwe tap an. Ekoro kotan aopaye wa tumunchi utara koyaishinire aki nangon na. Ikor'renga wa ikore yan," sekoro itak.

Tap orowa no akoro moshiri kopake sama aitu-yere. Tu repun moshiri moshit'tek sama aurekushte ki rok hine, aye rok kuui Tunisaupet Shinutapkaishi ikoyairiki pumba kane; teeda kane akor'ainu kol'chisei ashru konna meunalara. Pish un kiroru pat'ta horao-chiwe, aki hine, hange hotuye rui hotuye aukakushite; kurukashike aitaik omare ene oka-hi:—"Kamui-otopush Chiwashpet un mat ariki ruwe he an? Shomo ruwe he an? Shomo araki wa newa ne yak ne, taude wa no Repun guru moshiri ashirikunne aorapa gusu ne na," sekoro itak an uwa, shikut ashnup hange hotuye, rui hotuye hotuye kuruka itak omare ene oka-hi:—"Kamui-otopush newa ne yakka tuni shuikere ek ruwe tap an. Chiwashpet un mat newa ne yakka kamui tusare araki hine oka ruwe ne un," sekoro hawashi.

Orowa no michi ehashi otta urupa un hine, ahun

running into the dangers of fresh wars, but go home to your house and let all the warriors take rest. Please look favourably on this my request." So spake she.

After this we came to the shores of our country. After walking through two countries, we came to the aforesaid *Tunisaupet* and *Shinutapka*, having been carried upon the wind. There the ancient home of my father stood out to my view. We came down to the seashore, and stood at the entrance of the path which led up to the fortress. Here I called out and said:—"Have the Curly-head and the woman of *Chiwashpet* yet arrived? or are they not yet come? If they have not yet arrived, I will return at once to the country of the *Repun* people." After I had thus spoken, a voice came, which said:—"The Curly-head is here, for he has returned from the wars; the woman of *Chiwashpet* has also come to us, for the gods have pardoned her." So spake the voice.

After this I went into my father's fortress and found

an awa, son no ka un
 Kamui-otopush akoro yupi
 tumi shuikere oka ruwe ne.
 Chiwashpet un mat kamui
 tusarep so ne gusu tane an
 pirika shioarawenrui, son
 no ka un iresu yupi iresu
 sapo oka ruwe ne a an.
 Utuye kasu utuye pak no
 utamteshbare aki hine,
 orowa no okai an; aine, oro
 shineanda iresu yupi Yai-
 pirika guru ene ilak-hi:—
 "Wen kiyannep a ne an a,
 apirika rengap ikor'renga
 wa ikoropare yan. Chi-
 washpet un mat aak-
 tonoge eshikiraine kusu-
 kerai po shiknu ruwe ne.
 Tumi hontomota Shipish un
 pon shiwentep aaktonoge
 kashiobiuki knsukerai po
 shiknu ruwe ne. Yaiiraige
 an ki ruwe ne na. Keke,
 hetak, Kamui-otopush aak-
 tonoge Chiwashpet un mat
 koro wa ne yak eukotom
 na," sekoro itak. Orowa
 nishui iyekote shikiriba hine
 ene ilak-hi:—"Aresu kamui,
 itak an chiki, pirika no nu.
 Shipish un mat pon shiwen-
 tep ekon rorumbe rorumbe
 sama e otasashke ki ruwe ne
 a gusu, e koro wa ne yak
 shukup ebitta nep rorumbe
 echi enteksam-kuru kopun-
 gine na. Ramuoshma wa

that my elder brother had
 indeed come home and was
 resting from war. There
 too was the woman of Chi-
 washpet, who, being a pro-
 phetess, was more beautiful
 than ever. Here indeed I
 found my elder brother and
 sister, who reared me. We
 saluted each other with so
 much impetuosity that we
 came near to cutting one an-
 other. After this I stayed
 at home. One day Yai-piri-
 ka, our elder brother, said to
 me:—"I have certainly been
 a bad elder brother, however,
 extend to me your friendship.
 O woman of Chiwashpet,
 you have taken pity on my
 younger brother and brought
 him up. And during the
 wars, you, little woman of
 Shipish, have helped him so
 that he is now alive. I am
 thankful to you for all this.
 Now, come, my younger
 Curly-head, it will be well for
 you to marry the woman of
 Chiwashpet." Then again
 he turned round and said:—
 "My youngest brother, I
 have a word to say to you so
 listen to me. The little
 woman of Shipish suffered
 much in fighting for you;
 now if you take her to wife
 you will defend each other

ikoropare yan," sekoro itak. Orowa uishui shineanto ta ene itak-hi:—"Tane to pak no aakutari rorumbe patek eritne shukup; tambe gusu tonoto kara an ka shomoki no oka an a gusu, pon tonoto po akara wa ne yak, hange apa tuina apa aeahupte wa iki an kusu ne na;" sekoro itak, awa.

Kamui-otopush akoro yupi pirika manu-hi areikakara eaneramu pash-kosamba. Yaitekna wa pu otta arapa iwan saranip pu ikare iwan shintoko orun tonoto kara. Tut ko rere ko oka an tek koro, tonoto hura chisei upshoro etushnatki. Tane tonoto pirika wa iyashkenk shongo asoinaraye; eun inu an hike Shishiri pet un guru turesh tura no Iy'ochi un guru turesh ture no ashke-anina; araki ine chup ruwe ne. Ayupi utari uweran-garap; okake an koro, shisak tonoto aukomaktekka reushi kane, shomo mokon ne iki an ine; okake an koro Iy'ochi un guru ene itak-hi;—"Keke, hetak apirika rengap aye chiki pirika no

in the wars through the whole of your lives. Come give your consent." And again on another occasion he said:—"You, my brothers, have been brought up during the wars, and in very troublous times and therefore have not been able to make any wine, let us now brew a little and call all our near and distant relations together to a feast."

When he had said this, the Curly-head made obeisance to my elder brother, and with me rushed off and rolled in six bags of millet out of the storehouse, and brewed wine in six lacquer tubs. After a few day had elapsed, the smell of the wine filled the whole house. When the brewing was finished, messengers were sent out to invite people to the feast. Among the guests there was a man from *Shishiripet*³⁵ and his younger sister; also another person from *Iy'ochi* and his younger sister. After the salutations were over, they made themselves happy with the delicious wine and sat drinking without allowing themselves any time for

³⁵ This is the old name of the river which is now called *Iskkari-pet*. *Shishiri-pet* means "the great river."

nu yan. Turesh patek
 aheturashite wa oka an gumi,
 tane ta pak no mat akoro
 ka shomoki no oka an ruwe
 ne a gusu, Iyochi un mat
 akot tureshi iresu yupi
 akore yak ne, iyonitasa
 Shinutapka un mat akon'-
 rusui na;," sekoro itak ki
 tok awa, iresu yupi pirika
 manuhi anreikakara, orowa
 no, iresu sapo poro ketushi
 tomotarushi Iyochi un guru
 koro kotan ta tura ruwe ne.
 Iyochi un mat iresu yupi
 akore hine ramma kane oka
 an. ruwe ne. Kamui-oto-
 push Chiwashpet un mat
 kon ruwe ne. Shipish un
 mat pou shiwentep akore
 hine ramma kane shiroma
 wa okai an ruwe ne na.

sleep. After a while, the man
 of Iyochi said:—"Come,
 come. I have something to
 say to you that will be to your
 advantage, so pay attention.
 I live quite alone with my
 younger sister and have not
 yet taken a wife. Now, I
 will give you my sister to
 wife, and in return I desire
 you to give me your sister."
 When he had said this, my
 brother assented with plea-
 sure; and, after a time, took
 her, together with a great
 load of treasures, to the home
 of the man of Iyochi. And
 the Iyochi man gave his
 sister to my brother; and
 they were married and al-
 ways lived together. Then
 the Curly-head took the wo-
 man of Chiwashpet, and I
 the woman of Shipish, to
 wife, and we lived happily
 together ever after.

ON THE OLD JAPANESE VOCABULARY.

BY

JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D.

(Read 22nd January, 1890.)

The fact that the Mediæval word *mondawazu** was derived from the two Chinese words *mon* and *taf*, "to ask and reply," "question and answer," is a very good example of agglutination in languages such as the Japanese. Agglutinating languages are accustomed to form suffixes in this way. This is what the Mongols and Manchus do with Chinese words to no small extent.

Such a suffix as *wazu* is an instance of the later activity of agglutinating languages. The first period is that of root-making. The later is that of grammatical forms. A comparison of roots shews that the vocabularies of the Chinese, Mongols, Manchus, and Japanese are ultimately identical, and from this we conclude that before the growth of their respective grammars, the ancestors of these races all had in their speech a common treasury of words. Words are older than forms, because forms are made up of decayed words. *Mondawazu* is but a few centuries old, but *mon* and *taf* were in existence many thousand years ago.

Professor Chamberlain and Mr. Ueda have done very useful work in making a vocabulary of the most ancient words of the Japanese language and giving them the old sounds.* I propose to go over these carefully prepared lists of words found in early Japanese books and compare them

* Chamberlain and Ueda, in "Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. XVI., Pt. III., p. 228 *et seq.*

with the corresponding expressions in Chinese, Korean, Manchu, and Mongol vocabularies. If we strip the Mongol and Japanese languages of the prefixes and suffixes which have become attached to their words, the residuum is a large collection of words which, on comparing them with the Chinese vocabulary, we find to be not essentially different from it. Japanese and Mongol, though polysyllabic now, were once monosyllabic like the Chinese.

I now give selected words from Mr. Chamberlain's lists, with the corresponding words in the continental vocabularies, interspersed with such remarks as seem to be called for.

Pa, a thing, person, that which, Korean, *pa*, that which. This word is the Chinese farther demonstrative 彼 *pi*, *pa*, that. A demonstrative, as I have shown in my "Evolution of Chinese" and "Evolution of Hebrew," is not only a pronoun, but also originally may be applied to make a verb to point, or the object pointed at, or the hand pointing. It is quite in accordance therefore with linguistic evolution that *pa* in Japanese should mean "thing" or "person." It may also mean "each," as in Professor Chamberlain's vocabulary, because a distributive word is derived from the demonstrative. In Mongol *boso*, other, it is not, is the same word. Negatives as a rule spring out of demonstratives.

Pagu, to flay, is the Chinese 剝 *pok*, to flay, peel off. It is formed from *p'ik*, to open.

Paka, a grave, is the Mongol *bolasin*, and Chinese 墓 *mu*, grave. P and M easily slip one into the other, the process being simply, when *m* is required, to open the nose passage, and when *p* is required, to close it. In the Chinese, the part of the character above 土 is phonetic with final *k*, which was early lost in this word. In Mongol also *k* is lost.

Pakaru, to weigh, reckon. The nearest root in Chinese to this word seems to be 卜 *pu*, *pok*, to guess, divine. The word 搏 *pok*, to strike, 撲 *bok*, *id.*, suggest that the old root *bok*, to strike, is the ultimate source of *pakaru* and of 卜 *pu*.

Pama, seashore, is simply the old Chinese word 旁 *bang*, side, from 傍 *bom*.

Pana, flower. Though the Mongol *chichi* and the Chinese *hwa* shew no resemblance to this word, yet in Chinese the petals of a flower are properly called *pan* 瓣. On the Chinese field of view, petals seem to be called *pan* as "divisible," the roof apparently being 分 *fen*, to divide. Yet the Japanese *pana*, "flower" suggests that *pan*, "petal," may possibly be derived from an old word for flower.

Pana, nose. This should be compared with the Chinese *bit*, nose 鼻, which has lost *t* in Mandarin and gone into the departing tone group. The finals *t* and *n* are easily interchangeable. The character 自 *tsi*, self, perhaps shews that the Chinese about B. C. 2500 pointed to the nose and touched it with the forefinger, as they now do to express by gesture the first personal pronoun. Thus the phrase 鼻祖 *bik tso* may be accounted for, meaning the first in a line of ancestors. The root probably means "protuberance." The final *a* would be added after the Japanese became insular.

Pani, clay, may be compared with the Chinese 坯 *p'i*, *p'ei*, *pit*, unburnt bricks.

Panu, to separate, is the Chinese 分 *fen*, divide. Old sound *pun*.

Papa, mother. In Manchu *apa* is mother and *ama* father. Hence it may be concluded that the change in Tungus and Japanese from the ordinary usage of *p* for father and *m* for mother took place before the separation of the Tungus and Japanese branches from the larger stem.

Pasira, pillar. Mongol *bos-hal*, from the verb *bo-shu*, rise, stand upright. In the imperative mood *bos*.

Pata, again. *Mata*, again. Mongol, *basa*.

Puyu, winter. Mongol *ebul*.

Piza, knee. Mongol *ebudog*. The sibilant *z* is from *d*.

Pitu, *Pitugi*, coffin, chest. Mongol *abas*, coffin; *abdera*, box.

Since the time when the Japanese broke away from Mongol companionship, the examples here given shew that Mongol has prefixed a vowel in several words. The knowledge of its relationship with Japanese enables us to detect the true root. The sonant *b* is older than the surd

p, and the Mongol has in this respect better preserved the ancient form. So also *d* is the true final of the root, and the *ra* of *abdera* and the *gi* of Japanese are late suffixes.

The monosyllabic character of the roots from which Japanese dissyllabic words are formed, appears very plainly in some words occurring also in Chinese.

Kaku, to hang, with *kaku*, to scratch, draw pictures, paint, should be compared with the Chinese 掛 *kwa*, *kak*, to hang, 卦 *kwa*, divining lines, first used by Fuhī, B.C. 2800, and with 畫 *hwa*, to draw a line, picture, paint. The final *w* is thus seen to be a Japanese suffix. It is caused by relaxation of the vocal muscles. Through softness of climate, all muscular combinations which require consecutive efforts of a prolonged nature are split in two. To do this, a new vowel is required, by the help of which the prolonged energy of the monosyllable is relieved and a dissyllable is originated.

Kama, a sickle, may be compared with the Chinese *lien*, 鎌 *lim*, sickle, because the phonetic is otherwise *kam*. In evolution *k* is later than *l*, but in Chinese, in some words, *k* and *l* have been contemporaneously evolved to quite a late period. This the identity of phonetics shews.

Errors of transcription creep in occasionally; but if we deduct five per cent for incongruities arising from this cause it will probably be found enough. In ninety-five cases out of a hundred the phonetic is a safe guide to the pronunciation of words about 4300 years ago. Since gutturals are the newest letters in the evolution of the sounds of all languages (local variations excepted), the Japanese *kama*, sickle, is a newer form than the Chinese *lim*, and the occurrence of *k* is no argument against identification.* Both *kama* and *lien* mean the cutter.

Kame, a jar, is the Chinese 缸 *kang*, because *ng* is evolved from *m*. *Bing*, a flower-jar, is the same word with a labial initial and special limitation to utensils, having a small neck. Cor. *kama*, *kame*, a pot.

* In Amoy *hoe-a*, colloquial for a sickle, the character 鎌 is used. *K'am*, to cut, is a common Chinese word.

Kami, above. Probably the Chinese 上 *zhong*, and Shang-hai *long*. *Kami*, a god, is probably "the upper ones," as Prof. Chamberlain suggests. The letter changes are *ng* from *m*, and *k* from *t* and *d*.

Kafu, to exchange, to change. This is the Chinese 花 *hwa*, to change. It is also the Mongol *hobilhu*, to change. The Chinese word for flower is 花 *hwa*, that which is metamorphosed. The final *p* occurs in some words with the related phonetic 華. But as there is no proof that the *p* was dropped in 花 at a time so late as B.C. 2500, we must suppose that Mongol and Japanese parted from Chinese before that time.

Kata, hard. This is the Mongol *hada*, hard. The initial *h*, as often happens, is formed from the back tongue letter *k*. The speaker moves back the contractile action from the back of the tongue to the throat. This change must have taken place in Mongol after the departure of the Japanese contingent, because the change from *k* to *h* is normal, while of the change from *h* to *k* it is difficult to find examples.

Kataru, to tell. Mongol *helehu*. In Chinese this is 說 *shwo*, *shot*, say. The suffix *l* of the Mongol root has been changed from *t*. The initial *sh* in Chinese stands for *t*, and *t* for *d*. The Mongol and Japanese remained together after they parted from the Chinese with the newer initial *g* (which is the source of *k*), while the Chinese retained *d*. This agrees with the requirements of evolution. The Mongol and Japanese grammars are so like that the people belonging to these stems ought to have remained for a long period together in north Asia after separating from the Chinese, whom they resemble in the colour of eyes, skin, and hair, as well as in the shape of the head. The kinship in successive waves, or strata, which ethnology demands, philology confirms. That is to say, the kinship of the Mongol stem with the Japanese would shine out with much greater distinctness than that of China with the Japanese, even in their vocabularies, if the Mongols had not lost so many words by a wandering mode of life and the neglect of trade and agriculture. This is the reason that the number of Mongol

words in old Japanese, though by no means small, is scarcely as large as the number of Chinese words.

Uma, or *ma*, *muma*, horse, Chinese *ma*. Mongol *morin*. The Japanese form shews that *rin* was added in Mongol subsequent to the separation of the Japanese, and *u* in the Japanese form shews that the Japanese were, like the Mongols, fond of repeating the vowel of the root as a prefix. Although the horse was introduced into Japan in the third century after Christ, it would not be then that the word was first introduced into the vocabulary. The Korean horse would be known to them, and the tradition of their old Tartar life would be retained. The extension of the Chinese civilization to Corea in the twelfth century before Christ renders it most unlikely that the Japanese vocabulary could be destitute of a word for an animal such as the horse. The high probability that the primitive vocabulary of Japan contained more animals than existed in the islands is confirmed by the fact that feudal nomenclature occurs in the old myths. This seems to shew that the feudalism of ancient Asia, which the Teutons taught to Europe and farther developed there, was also known to the Japanese before the Christian era.

If, as appears to be the case, the resemblance of Mongol and Japanese is very close in grammar and in vocabulary, we must expect to find that the feudalism of Japan, her Shintoism, and her mythology cannot be other than strongly tinged with traces of Asiatic origin also.

The middle of the nineteenth century has been notable for a determined attempt to shew how far mythologies were indigenous and could be accounted for without any theory of borrowing. The tide has now turned, and the theory of borrowing in philology, mythology, and ethnology will have tardy justice done to it.

The *h* of Mongol is in western dialects *k'*, the aspirated *k*. Thus *ko*, Japanese for child, is in Mongol *hubegun*, or *k'ubegun*. Whether *b* is radical is uncertain.

Kori, incense, is in Mongol *hujī*. Since *ji* in Mongol is developed from *di*, we may regard *r* in *kori* as representing a final *d*. The final *i* is due to that polysyllabic tendency,

which has so powerfully operated in Japanese as to change all the final mutes of monosyllabic roots into initials of new syllables.

Abura, oil. The root *but* is to float in Chinese, 浮 *fu*, 漂 *p'iau*. *Abura* seems then to be that which floats on the surface.

Aduki, a bean. Chinese 豆 *teu, du*, a bean. The Chinese has probably lost *k*. The Japanese has prefixed *a*.

Atuma, east. Chinese 東 *tung*. The Chinese has changed *m* to *ng*, while the Japanese has prefixed *a*.

Isi, stone, is the Mongol *chilagon*, stone. The Chinese is *zhak*. The Japanese has prefixed *i*.

Kagamu, to bend, is in Chinese 曲 *c'hii, kok*, bent, and 屈 *c'hii, kot*. Here in Chinese, *t* has changed to *k*, for that is the usual order of the evolution of letters. In Chinese both forms existed B.C. 2500.

We may conclude that the Chinese root parted from the main Asiatic stock after *t* had changed to *k*, which we may hypothetically assume to have been about B. C. 3000. Philology is one of the sources of historical evidence. Let us divest myths of all their mythical obscurities, and endeavour to restore that real age when the Japanese were a continental race contemporaneous with the Tungus, the Mongols, the Turks, and the Chinese. By the nature of the identical portions of the vocabularies of these nations we may succeed in recovering not a little lost history. For example, the vocabularies of China, Mongolia, and Japan are fundamentally identical, and yet the Mongol and Japanese grammar is developed in a decidedly polysyllabic direction. This polysyllabic grammar began to grow up at a date not later than B.C. 2500. That is to say, the Mongol and Japanese races have been evolving their grammars through at least 4500 years, and they did so, as comparison shews, at first in union and afterwards separately. From the comparison of roots it may be concluded quite fairly that Japanese had passed through its monosyllabic stage while it was continental and before the verb was transferred from its natural position to the end of the sentence.

It seems quite certain from the laws of position in Chinese and in Japanese that the natural connexion of Japanese with Chinese is closer than with either the Semitic or Indo-European languages. For all the laws of position of words in a sentence are identical except that one which relates to the verb.

It is not a hopeless task to prove the ultimate identity of the Japanese and Chinese vocabularies. But when this is done, it should be considered that a step has been made towards the logical proof of the original unity of all language, which follows closely on the proof of the evolution of polysyllabic languages from monosyllabic languages. In fact, evolution is the key to all the diversities of languages, and to almost all the problems which languages present.

Ama, sweet.* Manchu *amtan*, taste, flavour; Mongol *ama*, mouth, *amaraha*, friend, *amarmaglako*, to love, *amtai*, sweet. Chinese *mi*, flavour.

The Japanese *aru*, to be, there is, is the Mongol *amoi*, I am, *abai*, I was, *aksan*, having been, *aho*, to be, *aju*, being, *ahwei*, as a participle, *ahwei*, being, as a substantive in the most abstract sense.

Amu, bathe; *midzu*, water. Mongol *murun*, river. Manchu *muke*, water. Corean *mur*, water, *pis mur*, rain-water.

<i>asa</i> , hemp.	Corean	<i>sam</i> .
<i>asi</i> , leg.	„	<i>tari</i> .
<i>aru</i> , wither.	„	<i>i-nr</i> .
<i>atu</i> , thick.	„	<i>tootrur</i> .
<i>goto</i> , like.	„	<i>katar</i> .
<i>ika</i> , what?	Chinese	<i>ha</i> 何.
<i>ipa</i> , rock.	Corean	<i>pahoi</i> , precipitous cliff.
<i>ito</i> , silk-thread.	Corean	<i>sir</i> .
	Chinese	<i>sī</i> . In ancient time the Chinese would be <i>ti</i> or <i>to</i> .

* In Chinese 味 *mi*, taste, flavour. This is in the new language heard *wei*. In Corean *mat* is taste.

Kasi, kasu, lend. Corean *kur*, lend, loan.

Kani, crab. Chinese *hiai*. Corean *kai*. The Chinese *h* is developed from *k*.

Kapa, skin. Corean *katsok*. Chinese *kak*.

Kapa, river. Chinese *ha, ga*. Corean *Karam*; *r* probably inserted.

Kapi, shell, Corean *kai*.

Kisa, elephant. Corean *kokiri*.

Ko, basket. Chinese *kui* 篋.

Kuma, a bear. Corean *kom*. Chinese *hiung* for *gom*.

Kumo, cloud. Corean *kurum*. The insertion of *r* in Corean may be paralleled by *saram*, man. Chinese *lang*, man; and *param*, wind; from *pam*. The old Chinese for wind is *bam*, which has changed to *feng*.

Matu, await. Corean *muri*.

Natu, summer. „ *nyorum*.

Nami, wave. „ *namur*, rise with the tide.

Noboru, ascend. „ *nar*, ascend; Chinese 陟 *tok*, ascend.

Noru, ride on a horse. Corean *tar*.

Nuzi, rainbow. Corean, *mutsike*.

Nomu, drink. Mongol, *yom*. Chinese *yin*, to give drink to. Old sound *yim*.

Omo, heavy. Corean *mukor*.

Ono, self. „ *mom*.

Sama, manner, fashion; 象 *siang*, *zong*, form, image; 樣 *yang*, manner, fashion. In *yang* the initial *d* has been changed to *y*. In the Japanese it has been changed to *s*.

Samu, cold, is the the Chinese *liang*, cold.

Sato, quick of perception, *satoru*, to understand. Chinese 徹 *chet*, perspicacious, clear.

Seku, to dam, to bar. Chinese 塞 *sak*, to stop an opening, bar up the way, cork a bottle.

Semi, cicada. Same as 蟬 *chan*, as suggested by Professor Chamberlain.

Si, wind in *arasi*, rough wind, *tumuzi* whirlwind, may be the Mongol *sailhan*, wind.

Si, you, is the Mongol *chi*, thou, *ta*, you.

Sipo, salt. Mongol *daboso*. Manchu *dabsun*, salt. In Chinese it is *yen* for *dem*, salt.

In *siru*, know, govern, we see forming but one word the two Chinese words 知 *chī*, know, and 治 *chī*, govern, uniting. The idea of governing in Chinese comes from leading, being the foremost to guide and to command. *Chī*, to know, in Chinese is to take a note of, to mark.

Sita, tongue, Chinese 舌 *zhet*.

Soku, *soki*, the bottom. These are the Chinese 底 *ti*, *tik*, bottom; 低 *ti*, to lower; 抵 *ti*, root of plants. In Mongol occurs *dōtai*, below, where a *k* appears to have been lost.

Simu, to soak into, *somu*, to dye, are the Chinese 浸 *tsin*, *tsim*, sink or soak into; 渗 *shem*, to trickle, or filter away or through; 染 *jan*, *nim*, to dye.

Somu, to begin, is the Chinese 創 *ch'wang*, to begin, from an older *t'om*.

Taka, *take*, bamboo. Corean *te*; Chinese *tok* 竹.

Taka, high. Chinese 卓 *tok*.

Taku, to kindle, to light. Chinese *tok* 燭.

Tadunu, seek. Chinese 查 *cha*, *da*, seek, search.

Tama, a ball. Chinese 彈 *dan*, from *dam*.

Tama, soul. Chinese 靈 efficacy, efficacious, the soul.

Tatu, dragon. A fabulous monster whose tail ends in a double sword. In the 12 year animal cycle, the Mongols have *lo*, dragon, for the fifth, and the Chinese *lung*.

Toga fault, *togamu*, find fault. Chinese 責 *tsek*, *tak*, blame.

Toki, time. Mongol *chag*. Chinese *shī*, *zhik*.

Tokoro, place. Mongol *jug*, place. Chinese 處 *chu*, *tok*, place.

Tomosu, to light. Chinese 點 *tien*, *tim*, to kindle, a point, to make a point, to point. Originally this word means to point, and kindle is a derivation.

Tomo, a party of people; Chinese 同 *tung*, 衆 *chung*, all; 同 *tung*, *dung*, *dom*, together, associate.

Tomu, to stop. Chinese 停 *ting*, *ding*, *dim*, to stop.

Topu, *tobu* to fly. Mongol, *shibegun*, bird. The Chinese 陟 *chih*, *tok*, ascend, has a phonetic which elsewhere ends in

p. Hence it may be concluded that this root was formerly *top*. That this phonetic had once final *p* is seen in 波, which is *zhop* in the Kwang-yün dictionary. See in Legge's Book of Odes, Vol II., p. 428, where the soul of Wen Wang is said to ascend and descend in the presence of God. Since the old written form as given in Kang-hi is 微, the phonetic of which has *k* final, the change from *p* to *k*, if this is a correct identification, would take place before the invention of writing.

In 1880, in the Transactions of this Society, Vol. IX, p. 199, I made use of the manifest kinship of Japanese and Mongol to shew that *shibegun*, bird, in Mongol must be "that which flies," and I then explained the relationship of *tobi*, fly, and *tsubasa*, wings, as carrying in it a proof that *ts* is changed from an older *t*. I also then pointed out that the Mongol *dei* in *iredai*, not yet come, is *dsu* in *atawadzu* he cannot.

In "China's Place in Philology" (1870), I shewed that Mongol and Japanese are not so nearly related as Corean and Japanese, and that Corean, Aino, and Japanese form a subordinate group by themselves, while Mongol, Turkish, and Manchu form another subordinate group.

In 1879, Mr. W. G. Aston compared the grammar and vocabularies of the Japanese and Corean languages to a much fuller extent than any one had previously attempted. This excellent monograph was published in the London Asiatic Society's Journal. I here give some examples from it, adopting Mr. Chamberlain's spelling for Japanese words beginning with *h*.

<i>pato</i> ,	pigeon.	Corean, <i>pitalki</i> .
<i>paru</i> ,	to paste.	„ <i>pallil</i> .
<i>paji</i> ,	shame.	„ <i>pens</i> .
<i>parafu</i> ,	sell.	„ <i>pal</i> .
<i>para</i> ,	belly.	„ <i>pe</i> .
<i>kuma</i> ,	limit.	„ <i>kum</i> .
<i>toma</i> ,	mat.	„ <i>tum</i> .
<i>sima</i> ,	island.	„ <i>syum</i> .
<i>moto</i> ,	origin, bottom.	„ <i>nis</i> .

<i>tubone</i> ,	chamber.	Corean,	<i>chip</i> , house, room.
<i>ushi</i> ,	ox.	„	<i>sho</i> .
<i>kuturu</i> ,	fire-place.	„	<i>keuteul</i> .
<i>chichi</i> ,	milk.	„	<i>chus</i> .
<i>sukoshi</i> ,	* few, little.	„	<i>cheuk</i> .
<i>pi</i> ,	fire, sun.	„	<i>peul</i> .
<i>kasa</i> ,	broad hat.	„	<i>kas</i> .
<i>posi</i> ,	star.	„	<i>pyul</i> .

The comparison by Mr. Aston of the grammars of Japan and Corea shew that the languages have a close relationship, and illustrate that relationship in a multitude of interesting points. Hence the identity of the Corean vocabulary and grammar to a very large extent with those of Japan, was satisfactorily and clearly shewn in 1879.

Mr. Parker's industry has collected a really large number of examples of identical words. His mode of procedure reminds me of that of Klaproth in "Asia Polyglotta," who compared words in various languages with Cantonese. At present we know that the Chinese colonized the Soochow plain about B.C. 1200, a little before they first colonized Corea. We also know that they colonized Canton not later than about B. C. 300, and probably earlier.

The Chinese language is a great unity. By the works of the modern Chinese school of native philology, combined with the earliest transcriptions and the mediæval dictionaries, the old sounds of the language are known beyond the power of contradiction. The connection of the really ancient portion of the Japanese vocabulary with the old Chinese of Shensi and Honan in the second and third pre-Christian milleniums is more to the point than its connection with the dialect of Canton or other modern dialects.

Since the Chinese were colonizing Corea in B.C. 1120, the Japanese would receive an accession of new words of civilization about that time. But their grammar would be formed in its main features before that epoch, and they would

* This is no doubt the Chinese 少 *shau*, few, which has lost its final *h*. The Mongol word is *chohon*.

cross the Tsusima straits to take possession of their islands, perhaps a thousand years before this, or even earlier. When that bold revolution was completed, they would certainly have the verb already at the end of the sentence; for this is the common characteristic of the Dravidian, Tartar, Corean, and Aino peoples. We cannot find a chronological date for the transposition of the verb later, therefore, than the third millenium before Christ. In my opinion it was in fact much earlier than that, because late discoveries in Mesopotamia shew that in B. C. 3800, Babylon was already a firmly consolidated state. Consequently the Accadian must have been spoken at that time with this peculiarity in the place of the verb, that tongue being the old language of Babylon. Probably it would be safe to say that about six thousand years ago the transposition of the verb to the end of the sentence was already made.

The transposition of the verb to the end of the sentence is a characteristic of nomad races, while the Chinese, distinctively an agricultural race, never had it. The Chinese may have once been nomad. At that time, however, the transposition had not been made. It would take place afterwards, because Chinese has no trace of this law except in the doubtful instance of the old calendar *Hia siau cheng*.

Among the ancient words in Japanese which indicate advance in civilized arts and knowledge are *katura*, cassia; *kana*, metal; *uma*, horse; *nasi*, pear-tree; *ume*, plum; *momo*, peach; *kusa*, sunshade; *kake*, cock; *kame*, jar; *kori*, incense; *koromo*, garment; *kuha*, hoe; *suki*, spade; *kusuri*, medicine; *mugi*, wheat; *pasiru*, pillar; *pata*, a loom; *pasi*, chopsticks; *pi*, shuttle; *pire*, scarf, banner, veil; *pitu*, box, chest, coffin; *pudi*, wistaria; *saka*, rice-beer *ki*, ditto; *sarn*, ape; *sipo*, salt; *sumi*, ink; *tama*, soul; *taku*, cloth made of bark (?); *tari*, flagon; *tati*, sword; *tisa*, lettuce; *toqu*, to whet, polish; *toko*, sleeping-place; *tatu*, dragon; *tono*, palace; *tora*, tiger; *udi*, family name; *umun*, to spin; *peru*, to spin; *nagi*, onion; *piru*, garlic; *pisago*, gourd; *yoro*, myriad; *yupu*, wool; *usi*, cow; *wani*, sea-monster; *wata*, cotton; *su*, vinegar; *yomi*, hades.

Among plants, the cassia, orange, lemon, plum, pear, peach, wheat, beans, garlic, onion, gourd, would,—at least their useful varieties,—be introduced from China through Corea, as China received them in many cases from Central Asia or the south. Of those mentioned, China may be the native land of the cassia, the peach, and the plum. Exotic plants conveyed by way of Tsusima into Japan would not receive native names. So also the horse, elephant, tiger, cow, sheep, dragon, crocodile, not being native to Japan, would, when they became known, naturally receive foreign names. In the names of words used in the arts of civilization such as jar, parasol, rice-beer, brew, sickle, carpenter's plane, hoe, spade, comb, wheel, bracelet, medicine, we must look for a continental word as the root, and not expect to find a word which was in the first place a product of the Japanese islands.

When the Japanese arrived in the islands they now inhabit, they would come with a language the same as the present, but not so far developed. They would, when walking in the forests of Japan, know a pine from an oak because they had known them before; and social necessity would lead them to adopt for the names of plants and animals the same they had used in Corea and Manchuria when they resided there. New objects they would designate by Aino names rather than be at the trouble of inventing new ones. The Ainos before them would have gone through a similar history. They would arrive from the continent comparatively civilized. In a milder climate than they now occupy, they would better retain their civilization than afterwards. At present they offer the not unusual spectacle of a people whose language is more civilized than their present condition can explain. It is explained by the fact that they were formerly in a better condition and that they have deteriorated through the benumbing effect of historic defeats and failure to maintain the advantages their ancestors enjoyed.

Our conclusions from the nature of the old Japanese vocabulary are the following :—

1. Japanese words being the same with Chinese, Japanese

must, in its first stage, have been a monosyllabic language with the verb before its accusative, as is the case in Chinese.

2. The law by which in Accadian, Dravidian, Tartar, Corean, Japanese, and Aino, the verb is transposed to a place after the accusative, would originate while Japanese was continental, and was probably caused by nomadic habits. It would spring up first in some unknown locality, and spread through the cognate stems by imitation.

3. The civilized words of the old Japanese vocabulary were added in successive waves of historic and social intercourse in the insular and continental periods of the Japanese race, viz. :

a. The age of the "Three Kingdoms" of China.

b. The age of Han Wu Ti, B. C. 100, who conquered Corea, and thus spread the new feudalism of the Han dynasty to Tsusima.

c. The age of Kitsi, the surviving prince of the Shang dynasty, who became feudal lord of Corea B. C. 1200, and established there both the Shang civilization by preference, and the Chow civilization as that of his new feudal superior. This age of Chinese influence has left more or less distinct traces in the Corean and Japanese vocabularies. This period embraces eleven centuries, and includes a Persian influence about B. C. 600, of which we can note the traces in Japan.

d. The Shang dynasty feudalism of B. C. 1800, would communicate an influence to Corea and Japan.

e. The period in China marked by the Hia dynasty with its thousand fiefs, B. C. 2200, was a flourishing era, which must have made an impression on Corea and Japan, because of the high civilization indicated by the Chinese documents which survive from that age. Tribute was collected of all sorts of grain, minerals, and manufactured articles. Astronomy, metallurgy, and agriculture were practised, and the art of writing was common.

f. About B. C. 2500, was a specially flourishing time in China. The Babylonian astronomy and writing had been recently introduced. There was a calendar and an

official bureau for astronomical observations and foretelling eclipses. Embankments were made to prevent floods and protect the husbandman in his labours. There were also educational institutions. It might very well have been at this time that the Japanese, worsted in war, crossed the straits of Tsushima and conquered for themselves a new and better patrimony. The Japanese language would at this time have much of a civilized character, and would be already polysyllabic and have a Tartar system of grammar.

g. In the continental age of Japanese we can trace by the language alone the fact that there was a polysyllabic period, when it was united in one system with the people inhabiting the Altaï mountains and adjacent regions. The climate would be much warmer then in northern Asia than it now is, and it would be this circumstance that gave polysyllabism an advantage. Languages of a polysyllabic type with the verb at the end of the sentence, favoured by a genial temperature in the atmosphere, would become strong in their vocabularies and grammatical morphology. This would be from 5000 to 6000 years ago.

h. The last period to the detection of which a study of the old Japanese vocabulary admits us is that of monosyllabism. The roots are monosyllabic, and they are identical with those of the Chinese language. This age was anterior to the time when Mongol and Japanese grammar parted from each other and to the time when the verb was transposed so as to stand at the end of the sentence. It would be from 6000 to 7000 years ago.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Our great need in accounting for linguistic phenomena is time, because of the slowness with which grammatical forms are elaborated. On the average a grammar is made in about 1000 or 1500 years, as, for example, French from Latin. This is when mother and daughter are closely like in morphology. But the kinship of Japanese, Corean, and Mongol is that of contemporary growth on separate territorial areas during the last four thousand years at least. In

earlier times, when it was possible for two Turanian races to occupy one area by conquest or subjection, morphological growth might take place more quickly. Still even then, the growth of grammar would never be quick. When races occupy contiguous areas, it is only possible to borrow words. When they occupy identical areas, grammatical forms and words may both be borrowed. The extent of the borrowing depends on the relations of the ruling and subject races, the mode of government, and the contrast in civilization between governors and governed.

COREAN POPULAR LITERATURE.

BY

W. G. ASTON, C. M. G.

(Read 22nd January, 1890.)

The popular literature of Corea has received little attention from European scholars. Nor is it much honoured in its own country. It is conspicuously absent from the shelves of a Corean gentleman's library, and is excluded even from the two bookshops of which Sōul boasts, where nothing is sold but works written in the Chinese language. For the volumes in which the native Corean literature is contained, we must search the temporary stalls which line the main thoroughfares of the capital or the little shops where they are set out for sale along with paper, pipes, oil-paper, covers for hats, tobacco pouches, shoes, inkstones crockery—the *omnium gatherum*, in short, of a Corean 'General Store.' Little has been done to present them to the public in an attractive form. They are usually limp quartos, bound with coarse red thread in dirty yellow paper covers, after the manner with which we are familiar in Japan. Each volume contains some twenty or thirty sheets of a flimsy grayish paper, blotched in places with patches of other colours, and sometimes containing bits of straw or other extraneous substances, which cause grave difficulties to the decipherment of the text. It is not unfrequently a question whether a black mark is part of a letter or only a bit of dirt. One volume generally constitutes an entire work. There are no fly leaves, no title-page, no printer's or publisher's name and no date or place of publication. Even the author's name is not given. The printer's errors

are numerous, and the perplexity they occasion is increased by the confusion of the spelling. For the word 'orthography' has no meaning in Corea, any more than it had in England four hundred years ago. Every writer spells as seems good in his own eyes, and persons and provincial peculiarities are always traceable. There is no punctuation, and nothing to show where one word ends and another begins. A new chapter or paragraph is indicated, not by any break in the printing, but by a circle, or by the very primitive device of inserting the words 'change of subject.'

The character used is a cursive form of the *Önmun*, an alphabetical form of writing which has been in use in Corea for several hundred years. It is a simpler form of the same script to which some Japanese writers have attributed a Japanese origin, styling it the 'character of the age of the Gods.' To those who are familiar only with the more distinct form of this writing used in some printed books, the cursive character is almost, or even altogether illegible. There are numerous contractions, some almost undistinguishable from each other, and the letters run into one another, so that it is hard to know where one ends and another begins. When to these difficulties are added printer's mistakes, erratic spelling, or *lacunae* produced by holes in the paper, the most enthusiastic student may sometimes be tempted to pass on in despair, leaving a *hiatus valde deflendus* in the story.

The use of an alphabetical character for a language highly charged with Chinese words, is a circumstance which has an obvious bearing on the movement now in progress for the adoption of Roman letters, or Japanese *kana*, in writing Japanese. Here we have a literature where not a single Chinese character is used except for the paging. This example seems, and no doubt is, encouraging to the promoters of these systems, but it should be noted that no scientific, theological, or other learned work is or can be written in this manner. Beyond a certain point the *Önmun* alone is unintelligible. Even in the ordinary popular tales,

I suspect that many of the Chinese words are not understood by the average reader. I once asked a Corean, who had been a small official and who was recommended to me as a teacher, to insert the Chinese characters at the side of the *Önmun* in a not very difficult book. The ludicrous errors he fell into showed that he did not more than half understand what was before him. In his case the difficulty was not with the *Önmun*, which he knew quite well; but without the help of the Chinese character many Corean words derived from the Chinese were to him empty sounds. Many Corean gentlemen, some of them distinguished scholars, are entirely unacquainted with their national script. It can hardly therefore be quoted as a wholly successful application of a phonetic system of writing to a language abounding in words of Chinese origin.

But let us now turn from the outward appearance of the popular books of Corea to their contents. Have we here under an unpromising exterior a literature of high artistic merit or at least displaying an interesting and independent national character in its folk lore, its poetry, or its drama? Truth compels me to answer no. The language is in the primitive condition of all languages before great writers have arisen to develop their literary capacities. We hardly expect to find epic poetry, and there is none. There is nothing even which corresponds to our ballads. There is no drama, and although I was told that there exists a native poetry, I was never able to discover any in print or manuscript, unless literal translations from the Chinese can be reckoned as such. There are numerous tales, a little history, abundantly spiced with fiction, a very few translations of Chinese standard works, and some moral treatises, which of course are also more or less Chinese. I have also seen a book of useful receipts, an interpreter of dreams, a book on the etiquette of mourning, and a letter-writer. Hardly anything has a distinctively Corean character. The trail of the Chinese serpent is over it all.

These books have not even the merit of antiquity. I should say that few, if any, are more than 300 years old.

Perhaps nine out of ten Corean popular books are tales, of the ordinary character of which the following summary of the *Changhoa Houngyŏn chŏn* will give a good idea.*

"Changhoa and Houngyŏn are two girls, daughters of a small noble of Chŏlsan. The birth of the elder is prognosticated by various miraculous appearances. The mother dies, and the father marries a hideous creature with all the moral qualities of the step-mother of fable. In the interests of her own son, the second wife persuades her husband by a very shallow device that the elder girl has misconducted herself, and has her expelled from home in the dead of night. The son by the second wife accompanies her to a lake, where he compels her to drown herself. The younger daughter learns what had happened from the ghost of her sister who appears to her in a dream, and, guided by a green bird, she proceeds to the lake where she also drowns herself. The peace of the neighbourhood is now disturbed by their uneasy ghosts, who come out to the bank of the lake and lament so that all who hear them weep bitterly. Then the younger ghost appears to the Prefect of the district, and frightens him to death.

The inhabitants leave their homes in terror. A new prefect is appointed; to whom ghost junior appears and recounts all the circumstances. He summons before him the wicked step-mother, but she obtains her acquittal by the same device by which she had previously deceived her husband. The same night there is another appearance of the ghost who reproaches the prefect for being so easily taken in. The latter then reports the facts to the Governor of the province, and the Governor memorializes the King. The King orders the wicked step-mother to be *lingshihed*, her son to be strangled, and an honorary tablet to be erected to the two drowned girls. Their bodies are recovered from the lake nothing the worse for their long immersion, and receive decent burial. Then there is a fresh appearance of the ghosts to thank the prefect and to inform him that they have procured him promotion. The father of the girls marries a person in every respect a contrast to the wicked step-mother. The two girls are born over again from her, and, on reaching a marriageable age, are wedded to two young men who have just taken their degree with honours. Everybody lives happy ever after.

My next example of the popular literature of Corea is taken from the *Imchinnok*, a narrative of the Invasion of Corea by Hideyoshi. The author takes his facts from the contemporary account (in Chinese) written by the Corean statesman Riu; a quantity of material of his own invention,

* This is not one of the best of its kind; a better one in every respect is the *Syukhyang chŏn*.

which forms the greater part of his third volume. It is of this that I offer some pages by way of specimen. The events which are related are supposed to have taken place some years after the return of the Japanese armies to their own country.

"Now there lived in a temple at Ryōngsan named Hyangsansa a priest who was known as Father Syōsan. Having lost his parents in his childhood, he shaved his head and entered the priesthood. He had not only mastered the Threefold Canon and the Buddhist breviary, but was thoroughly acquainted with astronomy and geomancy, and having free control of the six *Kap* (甲) and the six *chōng* (丁) was master of the one thousand changes and the ten thousand metamorphoses without limit."

One day, when taking a walk with a pupil of his named Sāmyōngtang, he learned from the appearance of the sky that the Japanese were preparing a second invasion of Corea, so he went with his pupil to the capital and obtained authority from the king for Sāmyōngtang to proceed to Japan and 'obtain the king of Japan's submission.' Sāmyōngtang, it should be observed, was recognized by the king of Corea from his physiognomy as a 'live Buddha;' and raised, to the rank of general.

"On his departure the Priest gave him out of his sleeve a letter, and said—'This is a letter of the Dragon King of the Western Sea. Take it, and if you should find yourself in a difficulty, hold it in your hand, and turning your face towards the temple of Hyangsansā worship twice and pray nine times, upon which, as a matter of course, the Dragon Kings of the four seas will come to your aid.' He gave him the letter with many injunctions, and Sāmyōngtang having received it, looked at it, and found that it was as follows:—'What a noble thing it is for you to go away 10,000 *li* to an island in the sea for your country's sake.' The Dragon Kings of the four seas having reported to the Supreme Ruler the outrages committed on Corea by Japan, the Supreme Ruler, loathing such conduct, gave this order 'If Sāmyōngtang is in straits, do you help him and make him successful.' The Dragon Kings of the four seas are therefore bound to assist you. But know that the King of Wē (Japan) was originally a star (?) who was banished amongst mankind for an offence against the Supreme Rulers. Do not therefore be too severe upon him."

Such was the letter. Sāmyōngtang, having received it, took leave of the Priest, and set out upon his journey. Notice was sent in

* In other words, he was an accomplished magician.

advance to each province and district, and orders given to the troops that any person whatever, whether general or private soldier, governor or sub-prefect, who should presume on their authority as regards him, was to be summarily put to death. Sămyōngtang then started at the head of a large force. The governors of all the provinces and the chief local officials came and waited on him outside the boundaries of their jurisdictions. Without any obstacle he arrived after many days at Tongnè (near Pusan). The Pusa (prefect) Syongkang said 'The General (i.e. Sămyōngtang) though charged with an important mission was originally nothing but a priest. How can I show him outside the border? So he only sent his subordinates to receive him, and the subordinates, acting on a hint from their chief, provided insufficient entertainment, and reception, so that the greater part of Sămyōngtang's retinue were starving. The General was greatly enraged and, taking his seat on his platform or office, ordered Syongkang to be arrested and brought before him. In a moment the Pusa was seized and dragged in. The General greatly chiding him, said:—It is true that I am a mountain priest, but I have been appointed General by the king and have come down here in command of a large force: who are you that you do not come to receive me at the border of your jurisdiction and that you starve my soldiers? You deserve to be dealt with according to military law, but as it would be unlucky for me to execute you when on the eve of starting on an expedition to a distant foreign land, I will be lenient towards you. But avoid such misconduct for the future.

Now at this time Kim Eungso and Kang Heungnip being dead, the King of Wè had no one to object to his plans, so he desired again to make war. He was putting in order his warlike engines and drilling his soldiers when suddenly a despatch was received from Corea. The King was surprised, and opening it, read as follows:—'Our King, having learnt that you again wish to revolt sends you a live Buddha who has been ordered to examine into your offence and after careful inquiry to receive your letter of submission. If you are not obedient you will all be crushed without distinction. When the King read this letter he laughed loudly, and said 'How can there be a live Buddha in Corea?' 'This is only meant to delude us.' He accordingly consulted with his ministers who advised him thus—'Your Majesty can put this so-called live Buddha to the test. Do so and so.' Eighteen thousand screens were therefore provided with all haste, inscribed with Chinese characters and set up to right and left of the road by which Sămyōngtang was to approach. Orders were given to his escort to whip the horses and to bring him in at a good pace. When Sămyōngtang had saluted the King of Wè, the King thus spoke—'You are said to be a live Buddha: have you noticed the writing on the screens by the road as you arrived?' Sămyōngtang replied—'I have seen it in Chuma Kongsan.' Then said the King 'I should like to hear you repeat

that writing.' Sămyōngtang, in reply, without a moment's reflection, recited seventeen thousand nine hundred and ninety nine screens, when the King said 'Why do you omit to repeat one screen?' Sămyōngtang said 'On one screen there was nothing written: what is it you would ask me to repeat?' The King, thinking this strange, sent a secretary to investigate the matter, when it was found that one screen had been closed up and covered by the wind. The King was then at last amazed by this wonderful performance, and said to his ministers. 'It is now manifest that he is a live Buddha; what is to be done next?' His ministers said:—'At the Hall of Justice there is an artificial pond five hundred feet in depth. Let the emerald cushion of the Hall of Justice be placed on its surface and direct Sămyōngtang to seat himself upon it. If you do so, you will know for certain whether he is an impostor or no.' The King thought this a good idea, so the emerald cushion was placed on the surface of the pond and Sămyōngtang was invited to sit upon it. He did so, having first cast his saddle-cloth over it. The cushion did not sink but floated safely backwards and forwards, following the wind. When the King and his court saw the magical skill displayed in this, they were greatly surprised, and were filled with anxiety. The ministers then said to the King: 'Let not your Majesty be alarmed. If Sămyōngtang were to escape scathless, a great calamity would ensue. But we have thought of a stratagem. Let a beautiful detached pavilion be built. Let its floor be of cast iron and underneath the floor let there be bellows concealed in the ground. As soon as Sămyōngtang has been made to enter it, let all the four doors be firmly locked, and let the fire be blown with might and main. Then no matter how much of a live Buddha he may be, he cannot avoid being melted in the fire.' The King thought this was a splendid plan, and at once ordered a separate pavilion to be built, giving out that it was intended as a residence for Sămyōngtang. All the workmen were assembled, and in a short time a house of thirty rooms was completed. How could Sămyōngtang be ignorant of this? The work being finished Sămyōngtang was invited to enter the pavilion, upon which the four doors were locked, the bellows blown with might and main, so that the flames darted forth and people fell down in a faint. Sămyōngtang laughed greatly in his heart, and writing two characters *ping*, 'ice,' he grasped one in each hand and sat placidly. Then, as if hoar-frost and snow had been falling, icicles hung from the four walls and it was exceedingly cold. When one night had passed, the cold became so intense that Sămyōngtang threw away the character *ping*, 'ice' which he held in one hand; but it was nevertheless not in the least hot. When the King sent officers to inquire if Sămyōngtang were alive, so far from his being dead, icicles hung down all over the room without an interval, and the cold leaked out among the people.

Sămyōngtang opened the door from within in a leisurely manner and coming out, greatly mocking, said 'I heard that Japan was a hot country but I cannot sleep with my lodging in such a cold room as this. Is this the disrespectful way in which your King treats the foreign guests who come to him on missions?' The officers were surprised, and hastily returning, informed the King of what had taken place. When the King heard it, he was totally at a loss what to do. His courtiers then said 'In this crisis we advise that an iron horse should be constructed and heated till it is red-hot. When this is done, let Sămyōngtang be invited to mount upon it. Then, live Buddha though he may be, can the result be doubtful?' The King reflected 'Two plans have been already tried without success: if this too fails, we shall simply have been rude to no purpose.' Whilst he was hesitating about it, his ministers said — 'Though one hundred plans fail of success, there is nothing better to be done than what we propose.' The King saw no better alternative; so an iron horse was made, and at once heated in the furnace till it became of the colour of fire. Then Sămyōngtang was waited upon, and invited to mount upon it. Now Sămyōngtang, notwithstanding that he was abundantly provided with devices, was truly bewildered. But suddenly bethinking himself, he grasped in his hand the Dragon-King-letter and, turning his face towards Hyangsansŭ, bowed four times.

Now after the departure of Sămyōngtang the priest Syōsan had spent his days and nights in anxiety. One day he went out and observed the condition of the heavens. Then calling to him an acolyte, he said,— 'Sămyōngtang is in straits, and is making obeisance towards me.' He then dipped his finger-nails in water and turning towards the East, sprinkled it thrice, when suddenly a cloud of three colours rose on all sides, drawing which after them, the Dragon-Kings of the four seas, bestriding the wind, passed towards Japan swift as an arrow. Presently Earth and Heaven became dark, the thunder and lightning rolled, a great rain came on, and lumps of ice fell so that Japan became almost like a sea and the number of persons who lost their lives could not be counted. Lord and vassal, high and low, none had any place to escape to. They clung to one another, and prayed that their lives might be spared. But the water continued to come in until the country became like a vast ocean, and Japan was brought to the brink of destruction. How was it possible not to fear and to be alarmed? Sămyōngtang, by means of his magic art swung his body into the air, and remained seated. The appearance was as of a mass of clouds resting there—wonderful beyond description. Then Sămyōngtang laughed loudly and exclaimed—'O wicked King of Wè! Ignorant of the will of Heaven, you despised our country of Corea and have long wished to invade it: this crime cannot be forgiven. Not only so, but the number of the Corean people who lost their lives from the year Imchim (1592) onwards is beyond knowing.

The prayer by night and day of our country of Corea is to slay the King of Wè and to destroy Japan so that not a seed is left. Therefore, O king of Wè, deliver me your head. The King of Wè, in great fear, looked up towards the sky, and in tones of supplication, said 'I in my blindness and ignorance did not know that you were a live Buddha, and have frequently been guilty of insulting conduct towards you. I beseech you to forgive my offence, and to spare my life. If you do so, I will write a letter of submission, and offer it you. Then Sămyōngtang said—'I have come here by order of my King, but I am not of a relentless disposition. I will forgive your offence; quickly give me your letter of submission.' When the King heard these words, in his delight he could only half believe his senses, and he wrote and presented his letter of submission. When Sămyōngtang received and read it, he saw that its tenor was disrespectful and ordered it to be set aside, and the King of We's treasure delivered to him. He then grasped in his hand the Dragon-king-letter and bowed four times towards Hyangsansă, when the sky became clear, the waters subsided and Sămyōngtang coming down took a seat and demanded the treasure. The King said 'What treasure do you require of me?' Sămyōngtang said it is not merely your riches that I take from you. The letter of submission which you promised on condition of your life being spared is negligently composed and disrespectful. Of what use is such a letter of submission. Deliver me your head. I will have nothing else.' The King said 'If I offered you my head, the institution founded thousands of years ago (the monarchy) would come to ruin. I beseech you to accept other treasures and a new letter of submission which I will write.' Sămyōngtang said—'What should I do with other people's treasures.' Let me have the letter of submission.' The King presented the letter of submission which was as follows:—'Corea and Japan will make friends and will become brother countries.' How will that do?' Sămyōngtang said 'In that case, which country will be the elder brother.' The King said 'Corea will be the elder brother.' Sămyōngtang said 'well then, what yearly tribute will you send?' The King said 'Once every year I will render homage by offering precious things of small weight.' Sămyōngtang said 'Corea already possesses all precious things; the only thing she is scarce of is human skins, which are needed for drums and the like. Send as tribute three hundred human skins every year.'

The rest of the story may be compressed into a few words. Sămyōngtang was induced to forego his demand for human skins. On his departure he refused all other presents but one thousand decrepit old men, and of these he allowed any who pleased to return to their homes. At Tonguè the prefect pretended sickness and would not present himself at the limits of his territory. For this second

offence, his head was promptly taken off. On returning to Sōne, Sāmyōngtang made his report and was highly commended for all that he had done. He refused all rewards, and after his audience disappeared from human ken to the wonder and surprise of all. Since that time there has been peace between Corea and Japan.

This story occurs in a book most of which is genuine history. If we had no other record of the events of this time, we might be tempted to think it a highly imaginative account of some real events, and by eliminating or explaining away the miraculous element to educe from it a true historical narrative, as Dr. Hoffmann has done with the legend of Iŋgo Kogu's invasion of Corea. We know, however, that there is not a word of truth in it from beginning to end. There was no embassy of any kind at this time, and the only way to treat this and similar episodes is simply to omit them altogether, if we wish to arrive at an authentic narrative.

The next specimen of the Corean popular literature is taken from a M.S. collection of stories made for me by my Corean teacher. It is written in the colloquial dialect which differs somewhat from the written language, though not to the same extent as in Japanese. A romanized version of the original is appended.

THE TRANSFERABLE TIGER.

Once upon a time, a man was travelling along a road. Before him was a high mountain on the flank of which the road ascended steeply, while to the right and left grew flowers and trees of every kind, and fragrant herbage covered the ground. The flying birds and creeping beasts frolicked hither and thither, and from a lofty cliff a pearly stream flowed forth and fell to the bottom of the mountain in a shower of ten thousand jewels. There the water collected into a large pond on the brink of which an old fisherman was quietly sitting. He had laid down his thirty feet fishing-rod and was singing a song, while on the other side a wood-cutter whistled at his work. Charmed by the sound, and his mind engrossed by the contemplation of the scenery, the traveller forgot the weariness of the journey and proceeded on his way, now resting now trudging on, for two or three *li*, till on the left side of the road he perceived a narrow path, very steep and difficult. Wondering where

this path might lead to, he seated himself on a rock to rest, when, looking between the trees, he saw a tiger and a man standing face to face. Amazed at this strange sight, he turned aside for a few steps and, on more precise examination, saw that a youth of twenty or more held a tiger firmly by the neck with one hand, while with the other he grasped the branch of a large tree which stood close by. Observing their condition, he could see that the tiger's strength was exhausted. He stood with only his hind feet touching the ground. The youth was also exhausted, and the two stood looking at one another. Such was the state of things that if one of the two recovered his strength, the other was in imminent danger of death. Now the traveller was by nature a strong and brave man, so when he saw this condition of things, he wished to help the youth and approached. Whereupon the youth besought him, saying:—'I do not know where you live, sir, but I (lit. the small boy), while cutting wood, fell in with this tiger. Not knowing what to do, things have come to this condition. My strength is now exhausted, and I am unable even for a short time to keep hold of the beast. If you will only be good enough to hold him for a little instead of me, I will beat him to death. What do you think of this proposal?' The traveller replied, 'Do so.' He accordingly took the place of the youth, and stood firmly grasping the tiger's neck, so that he could not move. He then urged the youth, saying 'I am in a hurry to proceed on my journey, so be quick and kill this fellow.' The youth replied, 'As I have only now let him go, there is still no rigour in my arms and hands. Wait a little while I go away and bring a weapon with which to kill him.' So saying, he went away, and for the space of two or three hours, did not return. The traveller's strength too became exhausted, and having no means of killing the tiger, nor yet seeing his way to letting him go, for if he did, the tiger would surely harm him, he thus reflected, 'It would have been well for me if I had proceeded on my way. But out of my desire to save the youth's life, he indeed is rescued, while I have brought myself to destruction. Was the like ever heard of in this world?' Raising his voice, he called to the youth, but there was no answer whatever. At this time the tiger's strength returned a little, and he tried to move his body, glaring the while with eyes like yellow gold, opening his red mouth and sending forth a roar like thunder. The traveller was no coward, and was not excessively frightened, but the strength of his arms and hands was gradually becoming exhausted and it was an anxious and a dangerous time for him. Just then a fellow * of a priest (not the youth) came along by the eastern road. As the trees were very thick, he could not well see the traveller and the tiger, and said to himself 'There was the roar of a tiger from somewhere, but when I look for it, it is strange that neither does it roar again, nor can I see it with

* Priests in Corea are treated with the utmost contempt as the meanest of the people.

my eyes.' He stooped to listen, peeping first to one side, then to the other, when the traveller, thinking it a piece of the greatest good luck, called out suddenly 'Save a man's life, your Reverence!' The priest, startled, rushed forward, and found the traveller in the utmost danger. He was a stout fellow, but he was quite unarmed, and besides he reflected—'By the priestly law it is not allowed to kill or to injure anything whatever.' But while he thus thought, the strength of the man who was holding the tiger being exhausted, he seemed likely to let him go, and the tiger's strength was gradually reviving. So he went quickly, and, taking hold of the tiger instead of the traveller, said—'Look here and listen to my words. By our priestly rule we may not slay anything whatever with our hands, so I myself cannot kill him, but I will hold this tiger for you. When you have rested your arms a little, go you and fetch a weapon and kill him.' The traveller accordingly let go the tiger and running away to a distance said—'Have you learned only the Buddhist scriptures, and have not read the writings of Mencius? There is a passage in Mencius' works to this effect—"If a man who has killed another with a sword says 'I did not kill him, it was the sword that killed him,' will the guilt lie with the sword, and not with the man? Your case is similar. If I were to listen to your words and kill this tiger, though I should not be to blame the guilt would be yours for causing me to slay the tiger. How could you then say that you had not offended against the prohibition of the Buddhist scriptures? But it is not only for your sake that I refuse to kill this tiger. This tiger is one which it is the custom for one man to pass on to another. Remember this and hold on to him till you find another man to take him from you. Then do as I have done, and transfer the tiger to him." So saying, he ran off. And that tiger was known thereafter as 'The Transferable Tiger.'

There are in the world people who having received benefits requite them by injuring their benefactors. They may be suspected of being disciples of the man who handed over the tiger.

TRANSLITERATION.*

* The system of transliteration of Corean followed here is that described by Mr. E. Satow in his Dictionary of Corean Geographical names. But as I have not access to that work at present, there are no doubt some unintentional deviations from it.

CHÖN-CHANG-HO.

I chön é hân sarām i kil eul katōni, aphé kheun san i ik-ko, keu san hōri é nopheun kokè ka innān tē, oin phyōn myō olheun phyōn é kak sèk namu oa kkotchhi'myō hyang-kwi-ro-on pheul i kâtenk hâko, nanān sâi oa keninān cheum-seung i iri tyōri oang nè hāmyō chhung-ehhung hân pahoi é ok kâthân mul i heullō san arē ttōrō chini ilman kusenl i ttuinān tât hāmyō, keu mul i mohyōsō kheun mossāl niruko, keu mot ka é koki ehapnān neulkeun i eui hanka i anchōsyō sēpal naksitē rāl nokho norē rāl peurāmyō keu kōnnō namu puiyōchiko kanān chhopu eui snipharam sorē é ehyōngsin i heuimi hāya phungkyōng man tham hāya kie kanān syuko rāl nikko hok anchimyō hok hēng hāya tu-ō-ri rāl katōni keu kil oin phyōn é ehyōkeun kil i issō kâchang hōm hākōnāl sēng kak hâtē, 'i kil eun ōtē ro thong hân kil inko' hâko, pahoi uheui anchōsyō suiryō hâl cheuneum é, namu sē ro poni pōm koa sarām i sōro macho syōnnanchira. Mām é isyang hāyō, tuō kōreum eul omkyō kajō chāsyeŋi pon cheuk, nahi isipyō syē toin ahē ka hân son euro pōm eui mok eul tântān i chuiko, han son euro kyōthē syōn kheun namu kachi rāl peutteulko syōn nān tē, keu moyang eul sālphyō poni, pōm to keuiun i ehin hāya tuippal man ttāhē tāhiko syōkko, keu āhē to keniun i chin hāya sōro pāra poko syōnnān cheuk, keu hyōngsyē ka tul cheup é hānahi monchō keniun i namyōn hānahi chukenl tikyōng ira. I sarām i kēnpon keniun to mēu ikko yongmēng hân sarām irōni i moyang eul poko sarām eul ku hāya churyō hūya kakkai kani keu āhē pirō kālōtē—" Ōtē kyēopsin nyangpan iopsinchi morāōtē, syōtong i namu rāl pōhitaka i pōm eul mannaon cheuk ōtchi hāol syn ka ōpsaoa i moyang i toiyōssaoni itsē nān keuiun i chin hāoasyō i nom eul peutteulko chamkan sâirato issāol syu ka ōpsāoni syōtong eui tēsīn euro chamkan pentteulko syōsō kyēsīmyōn syōtong i i nom eul ttāryō ehukil kōs ini, mām é ōtō hāopsinikka ? hākōnāl, i sarām i tētap hâtē, 'keurōkhē hayōra' hâko, keu āhē rāl tēsīn hāya keu pōm eui mok eul

tântâni ehuiko syössini keu pöm i eumehäki ehi mot hănănehira. Chëehhok hătê 'Nê ka kal kil i pappuni, pappi i nom eul ehukyôra,' hătê, keu âhê têtap hătê 'Syotong i cheukkeum keu nom eul nohassăon eheuk phal koa syon é ohiyô keuiun i ôpsăoni chamkan tō kitariopsosyô, tarăn tē ro kasyô i nom ehukil keuikyê răl kachô orira' hăko ôtê răl katōni tuōsi tongan é toraoehi ani hănănehira. I sarăm i tto hăn keuiun i chin hăya, i pöm eul ehukil syu to ôpko, noheul syu to ôpsô, manil noheumyôn i pöm i syang hăl thô ira. Sêngkak hătê, 'Nê ka kanăn kil i nakattômyôn tyoheul kôs eul, keu âhê eui mokseum eul kuwôn hăyô churyô hătaka, keu âhê năn ku hăko, na năn chukkê toiyossăoni, irô hăn il i syésyang é tto innanya?' hăko keu âhê răl sorê ehillô peurâtê, tomuehi têtap i ôpnanchira. I ttê é pöm i keuiun i tasi ehokom tora oasô ché mom eul yotong hăryô hăya hoang keum kăthăn nun eul peureup ttăko ehuhong kăthăn ip eul pōrimyô sorêrăl pyôknyôk kătehhi hăni i sarăm i pontê kôp i Ôpnăn sarăm inkoro koahi musôwô hăchi năn anina phal koa syon é kuiun chin hăyô kanănehira. Mëu uitê hăyô-keunsim hăl eheum é, keu ahê năn ani oko hăn ehyung nom i tongphyôn kil lo naomyô namu ka manheun cheuk, i sarăm koa pöm eul ehal poehi mot hăko hollo mal hătê. 'Ôtêsyô pöm eui sorê ka natōni nê ka chhachitê tasi sorê to ani nako, nun é poichi to ani hăni, koi i hăn il irota,' hăyô, iri kiut tyôri kiut hăkônăl, i sarăm i sippun tahêng hăyô, keuphi peurâtê—'Têsa năn sarăm eul sallyô ehushio' hăni keu ehyung i nollamyô pappi oasô poni sarăm i chukeul tikyông ira. I chyung to kuiun eun manheun nom irotê musăm keuikyê năn ôpnănehira. Tto sêngkak hăni—'Chyung eui pöp é tomuehi muôs itônehi chukimiyô syang hăchi mot hănăn pöp io: tto sêngkak hăn eheuk tyô pöm eul peutteulko innăn sarăm eui keuiun ta hăya pöm eul notchhil tăt hăko, pöm eun keuiun i sêro oa kanănehira.' Pappi oasô pöm eul keu sarăm têsın euro peutteulmyô nilotê—'Yô posio—nê mal eul teurăsio—uli ehyung eui pöp eun ché syon euro muôs itônehi salsyang hăchi mot hănăn pöp in eheuk, nê ka ehinhi ekuki ehi mot hăni, i pöm eul nê ka têsın euro peutteul thô hênê, phal eul ehamkan suiko

ōtè kasō pyōngkcui rāl ōtō.kachiko oasyō i pōm cul chukisio' hākōunl, i sarām i pōm eul nokho mōlli tara namyō nilotè—
 “Nō nān pulkyōng man nilkko Mēngchā eui keul eun nilk chi ani hāyōnnānya? Mēngchā ra hānān keul é mal hāki rāl ‘sarām i khal lo sarām eul chukiko kālōtè—nè ka sarām eul chuki chi ani hāko, khal i sarām eul chukyōtta—hāmyōn, chinsil lo sarām i chōi ka ōpko, chal i chōi ka issārya’ hayōssini, nè ka chenkkcum keu oa kältota. Nè ka nè mal eul teutko i pōm eul chukimyōn na nān ohiryō chōi ka ōpsūto nō nān na rāl sikhyōsyō salsyang eul hāyōssān chcuk chōi ka nè kyē issāl kōs ini nè ōtchi pulkyōng kyōngkyé é chōi rāl ani pōm hāyōtta hākēnuanya. Keurōn koro nō rāl nèka ui hām curo i pōm eul ani chukil ppeun anira, i pōm i hāngsyang sarām mata chyōn hāyō onān pōm ini, keuri alko peutteulko ittaka, tto tarān sarām eul mannakō teun nō nān na oa kātchhi keu sarām cui kyé chyōn hāra’ hāko tomang hāyō kani i yōnko ro i pōm eui pyōlmyōng i chyōnehyangho ra hāta.

Iché syésyang é sarām i hok nām eui cunhyé rāl nipko torohyé eunhyé rāl pèpan hāyō eunhyé niphin sarānu eul hēropké hānān nom i itta hāni euisim khōntè, i pōm cul nām eui kyé chyōn hātōn nom cui tyēchā in ka hānora.

WHAT ARE THE BEST NAMES FOR THE "BASES" OF JAPANESE VERBS?

BY

BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

(Read 12th February, 1890.)

Our summer recess* has witnessed the appearance of a second edition of Dr. Imbrie's useful "Handbook of English-Japanese Etymology." The only portion of it that I venture to quarrel with is the preface, which is mainly occupied with the question of the choice of names for the so-called "bases" of Japanese verbs, i. e., the simple forms, such as *oku*, *oki*, *oka*, *oke*; *uru*, *uri*, *ura*, *ure*, to which all the suffixes are agglutinated. The learned writer's remarks appear to me to be at once too technical for beginners, and not technical enough,—I should perhaps rather say, not thorough enough,—for a satisfactory presentment of the subject to more advanced students interested in the theory of Japanese grammar. The subject has never been fully treated for the benefit of such students. This must be my excuse for bringing it before the notice of the Asiatic Society. Dr. Imbrie's remarks are as follows :

"The substitution of the term stem for root calls for a word of comment. The objections to the names commonly applied to the several foundation forms of the verb are obvious. The negative base has in itself no negative force whatever: as is evident from the fact that it furnishes the

* This paper was presented to the Society early in the autumn of 1889, but was kept back owing to press of other matter. Without this word of explanation, the turn of the first sentence might seem strange.

foundation for the passive and causative voices. The conditional base is the base of the present conditional alone: and in verbs of the first conjugation it is identical with the imperative. Apparently no one of the four foundation forms is derived from any other one: all alike are bases upon which the verb is built: evidently therefore it is confusing to designate one of them as the root.

"Professor Chamberlain, in his *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* recently published, suggests two changes. Retaining the names negative and conditional base; he substitutes certain present for indicative, and indefinite form for root. The difficulty, however, remains: in each case the name exhibits only a single feature of the form: the terms are not logical definitions. The negative base is employed otherwise than as a foundation for negative forms: and a similar remark is true regarding the conditional base. The term certain present contains no hint of the marked use of the form as an adjective. The indefinite form is no more indefinite than the negative base: and its indefiniteness is not a more obvious characteristic than its constant employment in forming compounds with nouns, adjectives, and other verbs (e. g. kimono, migurushii, buchikorosu)—the peculiarity immediately suggested by the old term root.

"The fact is that the several foundation forms serve various purposes. One who wishes to name them may therefore take his choice. He may select some one marked feature and find in that the name, with however the certainty that it will prove more or less misleading. The only alternative is to content one's self with the simple numerical designations first, second, third, and fourth. To the writer the latter seems the better course: and he would have followed it, but for the desire to keep company with others. He has substituted stem for root because it is somewhat less misleading, and also because it has been adopted by Mr. Aston in the fourth edition of his *Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language*."

Now it is not my chief object to argue against Dr. Imbrie's assertions. It will be more useful to begin by ask-

ing how we come by our "bases" at all. We come by them very simply, it seems to me, and in a manner which does credit to no one: we come by them owing to the imperfections of the Japanese system of syllabic writing. Japanese syllabic writing, as is well-known, fails to disengage vowels from the consonants which precede them. For instance, in the word *oku*, spelt *o* + *ku* (オ ク), our two letters *k* and *u* are represented by the single *kana* sign ク; in *oki*, spelt *o* + *ki* (オ キ), our two letters *k* and *i* are represented by the single *kana* sign キ, which has nothing in common with *ku*. *Ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, and *ko* are quite simple, not further analysable, elements to the minds of the Japanese, who, deprived of that grand, though to us familiar, instrument of philological research, the alphabet, fail to distinguish the resolvability of those and of all similar syllables into two parts, viz., a consonant,—be it *k* or any other,—running through the whole series, and one or other of the various vowels *e*, *a*, *i*, *u*, and *o*, by which the consonant is followed. True that the philologists of Old Japan recognised that *some* link connected *ka* with *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, and *ko*, *sa* with *shi*, *su*, *se*, and *so*, etc. It was their most celebrated discovery, and it led them to the formation of the *Go-jū On*, or "Table of the Fifty Sounds," in which, instead of being enumerated in an arbitrary order, as in the *I-ro-ha*, the syllables of which the Classical Japanese language consists are arranged regularly according to their initial consonantal sound, thus:

<i>ka</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ko</i>	} etc.;
<i>sa</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	

and when a certain syllable, postulated by theory, was non-existing in practice, it was promptly invented for the occasion. Such are *yi* (ヰ), *ye* (ヱ), and *wu* (ヰ). But to discuss all the merits and the imperfections of the *Go-jū On* would lead us too far. Suffice it to say that, though the Japanese grammarians were brought to recognise a certain close affinity between all five members of any one row of syllables, they never got as far as actually to analyse the syllable into consonant and vowel for practical purposes. Their syllabic

system of writing did not permit of their doing so. A final *k*, or a *k* by itself in any position, was a thing for which they had no word, a thing indeed to them unthinkable. When, therefore, they found themselves in presence of such verbal forms as *oku*, *okite*, *okazu*, *okedomo*, they could not, as we can, see at a glance that *ok* was the stem, and all the rest termination. They were obliged to postulate no less than four simplest forms, incapable of further reduction, viz., *oku*, *oki*, *oka*, and *oke*. Thus we arrive at the four-fold system of verbal "bases," and perceive it, together with the much-vaunted *Go-jū On*, to be the result, not of deep philological research, but of an imperfect system of writing and consequent mental muddle.

The system of "bases" is, therefore, of humble origin. Whether it is practically useful is another question. For myself, I discarded it in my "Simplified Grammar," but came back to it later in my "Colloquial Handbook," partly for reasons of practical convenience, partly in order to conform as closely as possible to general usage. The consensus of foreign grammarians seems to be in favour of retaining it. There is no harm, even theoretically, in our doing so, provided every one clearly understands that the whole thing is merely a device for the practical analysis and memorising of the verbal paradigms. There remains the question as to the best name for each of the four "bases." Dr. Imbrie's suggestion for simply numbering them 1,2,3,4 seems excellent. Another good plan would be to do as in Hebrew grammar, to take some one verb,—*oku*, for instance,—and name the "bases" of all verbs after it, thus: *oku*, *oki*, *oka*, *oke*. The chief objection to both these plans is their novelty, and surely that is a sufficient objection. It is cruel to compel students to unlearn anything, uselessly, even if it be but a technical term. We are, then, thrown back for our terminology on Mr. Aston, who himself built on the basis of the older grammarians, both native and foreign.

With one exception, Mr. Aston's terms for the "bases" appear to me to meet the requirements of the case. They are clear and sufficiently appropriate, though they are not

the complete logical definitions" which Dr. Imbrie seems to think that they ought to be. But when was a technical term ever the "logical definition" of the thing or function which it designates? Are *nominative*, *genitive*, and *dative* "logical definitions?" Are the botanical names of plants anything more than hints of some single feature of the plants' appearance? What, indeed, is any name but a hint? And who is ever likely to be misled by a name, because that name does not contain within itself a complete inventory of all the characteristics and functions of the thing named? The "negative base," to take a case in point, helps to form, not only most of the negative tenses, but also the uncertain present or future, the passive, and the causative. What is there in this to astonish any student who has been taught *in limine* that the whole institution of "bases" is a mere matter of practical convenience, and that the "negative base" has been so called only because its most salient use is in the formation of negative tenses? Quite different is the case of a technical term which actually *misstates* the fundamental characteristic of the object which it is chosen to designate. Such a term may mislead, and does in fact mislead, students all through the course of their studies. We have an instance of this here in Japan in the influence exercised by the unlucky term "root," stumbled upon by Rodriguez, Heaven knows how, to designate words which are no more roots than the word "ante-diluvian" is a root. Thus Mr. Aston, some years ago, founded on this misnomer an argument as to the original form of the present tense of verbs of the second conjugation, and Dr. Imbrie has not shaken himself free from a kindred misconception in the very preface which we are considering. The passage I allude to is that in which he leads one to infer that the *ki* of *ki-mono*, the *mi* of *mi-gurushii*, and the *buchi* of *buchi-korosu* have something of the nature of a root about them. Dr. Hepburn's dictionary illustrates in another manner the influence of the same fallacy. Instead of giving verbs under the present tense, which is the form by which the Japanese always mention them, such as *oku*, *taberu*, *oriru*,

kuru, etc., he gives them under the so-called "root," thus needlessly adding, as I know from repeated complaints, to the difficulties of the beginner, who has no means of knowing that, for instance, the verb *taberu*, "to eat," mentioned by his teacher, must be looked up under *tabe*; *kuru*, "to come," under *ki*; and so on. Having already some four or five years ago, had the honour to read a paper* before you on the subject, I will not here undertake to prove again in detail that the so-called "root" of Messrs. Aston and Imbrie's earlier editions is as much a derivative form as any of the other "bases,"—a root of gerundial formation, which, from its peculiar use, may be best termed the "indefinite form," because it is used indefinitely at the end of clauses to represent all moods and tenses, somewhat as the actual gerund later came to be. Mr. Aston (whom Dr. Imbrie follows) gave up the use of the term "root" in consequence of the arguments which I then brought forward. It is a pity that both gentlemen should have increased the existing confusion by their new and curious use of the word "stem." It seems to be one of the many cases of error dying hard. *Oki*, *tabe*, *araserare*, etc., having been deposed from their proud position of "roots," there remains a root of feeling that they should be given *some* pre-eminence. Such old and honoured officials cannot surely retire into completely private life. Hence Dr. Imbrie, as he rather naïvely tells us, "has substituted stem for root because it is somewhat less misleading."—But surely, if a change has to be made, and a new term adopted, why choose one which is misleading at all? In one sense, no doubt, such forms as *oki*, *tabe*, *araserare*, are stems, serving, as they do, as foundation forms to which the suffixes are agglutinated. But, in this sense, *oku*, *oka*, *oke*; *taberu*, *tabere*, etc., are stems also. In fact "stem" would be a fairly good term by which to designate the bases, if the term "base" itself were not already well-established in usage, and if "stem" were not wanted for another purpose. But to single out one of the four "bases" for

* "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol XIII, Part II, p. 224 (17th June, 1885).

special honour by calling it the "stem," is only one degree less misleading than to call it the "root." Students will inevitably be led to attribute to it some mysterious pre-eminence over the rest.

No; we remain most suited to practical needs, and truest to general grammatical usage, if we reserve the word "root" for the simplest, shortest, irreducible part of any word, "stem" for that simplest part of a verb to which all the terminations are agglutinated, and "suffix" for the terminations thus agglutinated. In Japanese grammar it is furthermore usual and practically useful, though not quite defensible theoretically, to introduce that term "base" to designate something half-way between a stem and a suffix,—one might rather say a stem plus a suffix, added so long ago that its origin is mostly forgotten. In this manner the practical analysis of every verbal form in the language is made perfectly clear and easy.

With regard to the remaining point of Dr. Imbrie's contention, I am also unfortunately unable to give way,—with regard, namely, to the use of the term "indicative present" rather than "certain present." I venture to think that the student's ideas are likely to be greatly cleared if he is reminded every moment, by the very terms he uses, that there are two presents in Japanese, a certain and an uncertain one. If we call the "certain present or future" simply the present, and the "uncertain present or future" simply the future, we put into his head mistaken notions which it is no easy matter to eradicate later on. We see the effects daily of this old and incorrect nomenclature in the misunderstandings which arise between Japanese and foreigners because the latter have said *arimashō* when they mean *arimasu*, "there (certainly are, or) certainly will be."

What Dr. Imbrie means by speaking of "the marked use" of the present as an adjective, that is of its attributive use prefixed to nouns, I am at a loss to comprehend. We say, not only *kuru hito*, "the person who comes" (or will come), but *kita hito*, "the person who came," and, in the written language, *kon hito*, "the person who probably will come."

A use which is thus shared by the certain present with the other chief tenses, cannot be said to be one of the former's "marked" peculiarities.

At the risk of being considered stubborn, I must therefore adhere to the terminology which I adopted only after much careful thought. As I said at the beginning, my chief object is not to continue the controversy which Dr. Imbrie has invited. It is rather to seize a favourable opportunity for ventilating before a specially qualified public the whole question of Japanese grammatical nomenclature, at the base of which, without intending any pun, the four "bases" stand. All parties are apparently agreed that the old term "negative base" and "conditional base" shall be retained for two of these. I submit that my names for the two others, viz., "certain present (or future)" and "indefinite form," are better than Dr. Imbrie's names, viz., "indicative present" and stem." By *better*, I mean to say that they are at once more correct theoretically, and more likely to lead the student right in practice.

REPLY TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON JAPANESE "BASES."

BY

WM. IMBRIE, D.D.

(Read 12th February, 1890.)

During the past year all students of Japanese have been enriched by the possession of two notable books: Professor Chamberlain's Handbook of Colloquial Japanese, and the fourth edition of Mr. Aston's Grammar of the Spoken Language.

In both of these works certain of the old names for the bases of verbs are changed: and this change in nomenclature necessarily raised the question for myself, as I was about to issue a new edition of my Handbook of English-Japanese Etymology. After a somewhat careful consideration of the matter, it appeared to me that even with the changes proposed the nomenclature remains unsatisfactory. On the whole, however, I was persuaded that it would be expedient once more to follow the lead of Mr. Aston: and I therefore exchanged the term *root* for *stem*. It is true that I might have made the change without comment, but at the time I thought a line in explanation advisable. I regret that what I wrote has had the appearance of an invitation to controversy, but I comfort myself with the knowledge that a controversy with Professor Chamberlain is a controversy in which one may ever count upon courtesy both in form and in spirit. In three points in particular I seem to him to be in error. On these I venture a word in reply.

1. In the preface to my Handbook, after referring to the changes suggested by Professor Chamberlain, I say "The

difficulty however remains: in each case the name exhibits only a single feature of the form: the terms are not logical definitions." On this Professor Chamberlain remarks that technical terms are rarely if ever logical definitions: that names are commonly only hints.

Of course there is an obvious truth in this general statement. But is not its application in the present instance somewhat misleading? When with Professor Chamberlain we say that *kom*, *komar*, and *komari* are the root, the stem, and the indefinite form of the verb *komaru*, are we not attempting something more than a hint at the various functions performed? In the case before us, is it not true that the endeavour is to hit upon a series of names that shall commend themselves to all as accurate descriptions? If this be not so, why should we so magnify the importance of accuracy? Does not the whole interest of the discussion centre here? Professor Chamberlain himself, I think, bears witness to the truth of this, when in another part of his paper he insists upon the advantage of reminding the student at every moment, by the very terms employed, of the real functions of the various forms. I grant that we can hardly hope to find logical definitions for all grammatical terms. But surely a name that is a terse logical definition is the ideal name: and it is not an uncommon thing to point to the ideal in order to make more manifest the shortcomings of the actual. Therefore I am not convinced that I went seriously astray in the language that I used: especially as I proceeded immediately to explain precisely what I meant.

2. The following sentence appears in my preface. "The term 'certain present' contains no hint of the marked use of the form as an adjective." Professor Chamberlain calls attention to the fact that other parts of the verb also are employed as attributives.

Assuredly this is true. One may say *kita hito* as well as *kuru hito*. And perhaps I should have expressed myself more guardedly. My intention, however, was not to imply that the present alone is used in the manner described, but

merely that this is a feature of the present which immediately challenges the attention of both Japanese and foreign grammarians. Witness Mr. Aston's Grammar of the Written Language (pages 89-94). If, therefore, changes in the nomenclature are under consideration, this striking feature of the present has a claim to recognition. And the argument that its rights are barred because other parts of the verb have the same peculiarity is equally valid against the term indefinite form. For while in the Written Language the part of the verb so described is frequently so employed, in the Spoken Language the part of the verb which almost always performs this function is the gerund or participle. As Professor Chamberlain puts it in his Handbook, "Hardly a sentence, especially a sentence of any length, can be uttered without the gerund being thus used" (pp. 161-2).

3. My preface contains the following statement also: "I have substituted stem for root because it is somewhat less misleading." This Professor Chamberlain describes as naïvely spoken: and asks, "Why choose a term that is misleading at all?"

I am heartily in favour of adopting a term that is not misleading. In the paragraph of my preface following the quotation now under consideration, I have suggested one: viz. that we follow the method commonly employed in naming conjugations and declensions, that of simple numerical designation. And, in passing, I pause to thank Professor Chamberlain for his kindly reference to the suggestion as being excellent. But, as it often happens, what commends itself to me as best does not commend itself to others. I must, therefore, content myself with a mere change from bad to better—a change from something more to something less misleading.

That the term stem is to some extent misleading is evident. For it encourages the inference that it is the form from which all the other bases are derived. But it is somewhat less misleading than root, because the term root is so very suggestive of an irreducible element

reappearing in other words belonging to Japanese, or possibly also to some one or more of its cognate languages. The change from root to stem is, therefore, at least a change for the better.

But after all, may not something even more than this be said in favour of the term stem? Let us at first confine our attention to the second conjugation. Of this the following will serve as typical bases: *ake*, *ake*, *akeru*, *akere*, and *i*, *i*, *iru*, *ire*. Without now raising the question of roots in the proper sense of the word, is there no room for the hypothesis that *ake* and *i* are the stems, and that from these stems the longer bases are obtained by the simple addition of *ru* and *re*? Is not this the explanation most likely to occur to one? Turning now to the first conjugation, we find a typical series in *oki*, *oka*, *oku*, *oke*. It is at once agreed that here the four bases are all alike and equally stems, and that they might be so designated. But suppose it be preferred to follow the mode now in vogue and to give them all different names. Then may it not be fairly asked, shall not one of them retain the name of stem? And since the form *oki* is so constantly employed in compound words to represent the idea contained in the verb, has it not the right to claim the title as especially its own?

It may be that Professor Chamberlain's exceptional knowledge of the languages will enable him to say immediately that any such conjecture regarding the second conjugation cannot be entertained. If, however, it be allowable, it follows that in the case of the second conjugation the term stem is precisely the one that should be employed, and that in the case of the first conjugation its employment may be justified. And if it still be urged that other forms besides *oki* are used as stems, the answer is inevitable that the same argument holds with even greater force against the term indefinite form. For, as has been already remarked, not only is the participle or gerund also employed to perform the function designed to be described by the word indefinite, more than that

in the Spoken Language it is conspicuously *the* form in common use for that purpose.

Finally in favour of stem as against indefinite form, the following may be said. The term stem is short, familiar, and precise. On the other hand the term indefinite is itself indefinite. Even to one acquainted with the peculiarity of Japanese syntax which it is intended to describe, it does not express the idea with great perspicuousness. And a beginner, I fear, would complain not only that it is not a logical definition, but also that it hardly attains to the rank of a hint.

Professor Chamberlain's paper concludes with these words, "all parties are apparently agreed that the old terms 'negative base' and 'conditional base' shall be retained. I submit that my names for the two other bases, viz., 'certain present (or future)' and 'indefinite form,' are better than Dr. Imbrie's names, viz., 'indicative present' and 'stem.' By *better*, I mean to say that they are at once more correct theoretically, and more likely to lead the student right in practice."

It gives me real pleasure to say that on one point I accept Professor Chamberlain's conclusion as my own. The term indicative seems to me in any case superfluous, and the reasons urged for the substitution of the word certain appear to me convincing. I regret that I did not accept the term certain present in my Hand-book.

In conclusion, however, suffer me to add that the real question in my mind is not now, nor has it ever been, one of a choice between Professor Chamberlain's names and Mr. Aston's names. My feeling has been that the nomenclature, even with the changes suggested by both of these gentlemen, is still misleading. As I put it in my preface, "the difficulty *remains*." I do not think that we should assume that the terms negative base and conditional base are satisfactory; and that it remains only to decide the strife between indicative present and stem on the one side, and certain present and indefinite form on the other. To get what Professor Chamberlain speaks of as the "whole

question of Japanese grammatical nomenclature " settled satisfactorily, I believe that we must break away from the old terms, and raise and answer anew the broad radical question of Professor Chamberlain's paper. What are the *best* names for the bases of Japanese verbs?

It remains only for me to express my many thanks to Professor Chamberlain for his extreme kindness in affording me an opportunity to study his paper before its public presentation to the Society.

THE ORIGIN OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE RIVALRY IN JAPAN.

BY

E. M. SATOW.

(Read 12th March, 1890).

In the beginning of 1888, whilst at Rome, engaged in searching for books printed at the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, I was advised to try the College of the Propaganda, and having applied to the Secretary Monsignor Jacobini, was at once accorded every facility for examining the library belonging to that institution, known as the Museo Borgiano. On the 30th January, accordingly, I called on the very obliging custode, who placed the catalogue at my disposal. I found no rare or important printed books mentioned in it, but among the MSS. discovered what turned out to be a document signed by the four members of the well-known Japanese embassy that visited Europe in 1585. Later on I obtained permission to have a photographic negative taken by Signor Martelli, perhaps the most skilful of all the Europeans engaged in the production of facsimiles of palæographic rarities. In the meantime I made a rough copy of the document with pen and ink. Some weeks later I met Viscount Watanabe Nobori and told him of the interesting discovery. He comes from the part of Japan to which one of the four envoys belonged, and readily accepted my invitation to inspect the MSS. Accordingly, on the 1st March, we visited the Museo Borgiano, in company with the Secretary to the Japanese Legation in Rome, and, if my memory serves me right, another Japanese

gentleman. As will readily be understood by Japanese scholars, if they will examine the accompanying facsimile, there were portions of the letter which are not to be made out at first sight. As to the proper reading of some of the characters I myself was in doubt; but by the aid of the Italian translation which accompanies it, we were able jointly to determine the probable reading of every part, and I think this was pretty much as I have presented it in the transcription which follows. I have mentioned these circumstances because I have reason to believe that a copy was taken subsequently by a Japanese gentleman of Viscount Watanabe's suite, who published it in one of the Tōkyō newspapers in such a manner as to leave it to be inferred that he himself had made the discovery of this paper unaided.

In addition to the letter which forms the occasion of the present paper, the Museo Borgiano possesses the following three MSS. (Pressmark Sc. 7. fila 4. vol. 5) *Vocabulario de la lengua Japona*. Above the title is written "Año de 1631. Fr. Diego Collado ord. Proed. en Madrid. It is a quarto-sized MS. of 86 leaves, and at the end is the following note:

*Por orden de la sagrada congregacion de propaganda fide añadi á este vocabulario Japon los de lengua latina, y puesto en orden alfabético se imprimio en Roma este año de 1632 por Agosto y Septiembre. Si Dios fuere servido, quando tenga lugar hare addiciones por el orden de el calepino con los vocablos que aqui faltan que seran muchos; Pero por agora no se me an ofrecido ala memoria mas qwestos. fr. Dis. Collado ad. Praed.**

This MS. was probably that of the *Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae japonicae compendium compositum* à Fr. Didaco Collado Ord. Praedicatorum, published at Rome

* "By order of the Holy Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* I have added to this Japanese vocabulary the Latin words, and having been arranged in alphabetical order, it was printed at Rome in August and September of this year. If God please, when I have an opportunity I will add to it in the dictionary order such words as are here wanting, which must be numerous. However at present no others have presented themselves to my memory."

in 1632, or at any rate served as its basis. The latter consists of 156 pp. of print in double columns. Brother Diego later on fulfilled his promise of making further additions, which occupy pp. 165 to 353 in the copy in my possession. The work is No. 221 of the late M. Pagès' *Bibliographie Japonaise*. I am not sure that M. Pagès was correct in speaking of the original as a '*manuscrit portugais*.'

(Pressmark Sc. 7. fila 4. vol. 4) *Arte de la lengua Japona que ira por las partes de la oracion, conviene a saber, nomine, pronomine, verbo, participio, conjuncion, interjencion, syntaxis, y quantas* " (Manual of the Japanese language, arranged according to the parts of speech, that is to say, noun, pronoun, verb, participle, conjunction, interjection, syntax, numbers)." It is anonymous, but is evidently the original of the grammar published in Rome in 1632 under the title of *Ars Grammaticæ Japonicæ linguæ*. M. Pagès (No. 220 of his *Bibliographie Japonaise*) remarks "*Le manuscrit portugais est à la Propagande*," but he cannot have seen it, as it is in Spanish. In the same volume is bound up an Italian MS. of 27 pp., which looks like a translation of the foregoing. The preface *Al lettore* says '*Questa grammatica della lingua Giapponese e cavata da un'altra lunghissima, e molto confusa data in luce dal Padre Giovanni Rodriguez, e da una lunga pratica havuta con Giapponesi, e lettione de loro libri, ne quali si contiene la purita del loro idioma essendo poseia quest' arte indirizzata per servitio de Ministri del Santo Vangelo, che vengono dall' europa a dilatare e mantenere la santa fede nel Giappone, se pone al modo del latino, etc.*)

From the statement in § 2 of the introduction, it might appear that this translation of the Spanish original had been made in Japan; but if I remember correctly, it is written on European paper, as is not the case with most of the original manuscripts of that time which came from Japan.

* "This Grammar of the Japanese language was compiled from another, very long and complicated, published by father Giovanni Rodriguez, and from long association with Japanese and study of their books, which contain the purest of their language."

Let us now proceed to look at the letter of the Ambassadors, of which it seems advisable to give a transcription, with a translation by its side, to be followed by a copy of the Italian version, treated in the same manner.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Tenchi bambutsu no go sakusha mata sono on ko wareware on tasukete Zexusu no go kōryoku wo motte sempitsu seshime sōrō owan-nu. Somosomo Nihon no kuni yori Bungo yakata no shisha to Hyūga yakata no mago Itō Don Mansho mata Arima no yakata onajiku Ōmura Don Harutoromei no shisha to shite Chijiwa Don Mikern, sono hoka Hara Don Maruchino Nakaura Don Jurian Hizen no kuni no ryō samurai Roma ni itari makari-ide sōrō. Kore mata migi yakata narabi ni Nihon sho kiri-shitan no dai to shite Pappa Souja no mi ashi wo sui-tatematsuri obeju wo age-tatematsuri san nen no hashō wo kitari shinogi sōrō. Tsuite wa Benesha no koto uketamawari-oyobi sōrō kokon ni itari teki no anchi to nari sōrawanu kashikoki zaisho ikken hon-i no jō sunawachi makari-ide sōrō. Makoto ni zonzuru yori mo kekkō nakanaka

TRANSLATION.

By the help of the Creator of Heaven and Earth and all things [that are therein], and of his Son our Saviour Jesus, we dip our pen [in ink]. Itō Don Mancio, grandson of the prince of Hyūga, as envoy of the prince of Bungo, and Chijiwa Don Michael, as envoy of the prince of Arima, and of Ōmura Don Bartolomeu, besides Hara Don Martino and Nakaura Don Julian, two gentlemen of the province of Hizen, came to Rome from Japan. We undertook a voyage of three years duration to kiss the foot of His Holiness the Pope and offer our homage as representatives of the foregoing princes and of the Christians of Japan. Further, having heard of Venice and desiring to visit the wonderful city, never in ancient or modern days the possession of an enemy, we have come here. Of a truth it is more beautiful than we had expected, and has greatly

me wo odorokashi sōrō koto
ni onono shu wareware ni
taishi go konjō kore mata
hitsuzetsu ni oyobazu sōrō.
Shikaru aida kōgo oboe no
tame ippitsu some-oki sōrō.
Kore mata sono shinjin no
go taisetsu jikou igo ni oite
bōkyaku arumajiku kore
made ni sōrō. Tōsho no koto
wa engoku tari to iedomo
Fiehiiki ni oite sono kakure
naku sōrō. Manichi buji
kikoku sōrō wa wareware
kemmon no tokoro tsubusa
ni waga chō ni oite hirō
seshimubeku sōrō. Ana ka-
shiko, ana kashiko. Go
shusse sen go hyaku hachi
jū go nen shichi gwatsu
futsuka.

astonished our eyes. In particular, the kindness of every one to us is inexpressible by pen or tongue. Therefore, as a record for after-days, we have dipped a pen. For the very profound love [manifested to us] shall never be forgotten. In spite of its remoteness, this honoured spot has not been without fame in the Land of the Sun. Should we be fortunate enough to return safely to our home, we will fully declare in our country what we have seen and heard. With reverence, with reverence. Second day of the seventh month of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-five *Anno Domini*.

This Japanese document is accompanied by an Italian version which reads as follows, when the abbreviations are extended.

Con l'aiuto, et fauor del Signor del cielo, che ha creato tutte le cose, et di Giesu Christo su unico figliuolo et redentor nostro Noi Ito don Mancio nepote del' Rè di funga Ambasciatore del Rè francesco di Bungo, Cingina Don Michele nepote di don Protasio Rè d'Arima, et cugino di don Bartolomeo

With the help and favour of the Lord of Heaven, who has created all things, and of Jesus Chris this only son our redeemer, We, Ito don Mancio, grandson of the King of Hyūga, Ambassador of King Francesco of Bungo, Cingiwa Don Michael, grandson of don Protasio, King of Arima, and their

principe d'Vòmura, et loro Ambasciatore, Nacanra don Giuliano, et fara Don Martino Baroni nel Regno di figen siamo uenuti dalle Regni del Giapone a Roma, consumando il spatio de tre anni per uenire in nome de' detti Rè, et de i Christiani di quel paese a basciar li piedi al sommo Pontifice, et render [g]l[i] la debita obbedienza finita la nostra Ambasciaria, et ritornando ai nostri Regni, non habbiamo uoluto lasciar di uedere la marauigliosa, et inuitta Città de Venetia, la quale hauendo superata la nostra aspettatione, et in essa riteenuti honori, et segni di beneuolenza ch'è dalla serenissima Republika Venetiana si poteuano sperare, nei parso cosa ragionevole, lasciarle questa scrittura per memoria nel tempo da uenire in fede che mai ei seordaremo dell' [a]more che ne ha mostrato, et delle rare cose che qui [ui] habbiamo uisto, et se sua Dinina Maesta restarà seruita che rinuediamo il Giapone, faremo che Venetia, la quale non ostante la gran distanza essendo assai nominata, sarà molto piu divulgata nei paesi nostri da noi come conuiene. Alli doi della sesta

ambassador, Nakaura don Giuliano and Hara don Martino, barons in the Kingdom of Hizen, are come from the kingdoms of Japan to Rome, employing the space of three years, in coming in the name of the said Kings and of the Christians of that country, to kiss the feet of the most High Pontiff and render to him the obedience which is his due. Having fulfilled our mission, and being about to return to our countries, we would not omit seeing the marvellous and invincible city of Venice, which, having surpassed our expectation, as well as the honours therein received and the marks of good will which might be looked for from the Most Serene Venetian Republic, it has seemed to us reasonable to leave her this document as a token for future times that we will never forget the affection that has been manifested to us and the rare things we have there seen; and if His Divine Majesty should be pleased to permit us to see Japan again, we will procure that Venice, which, notwithstanding the great distance, is very renowned, shall be

<p><i>luna. Nel anno della nostra redention 1585.*</i></p>	<p>much more made known by us in our countries, as befits. The 2nd of the 6th moon in the year of our redemption 1585.</p>
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At the bottom of the paper were the four signatures Ito don mancio, Cingiuu don Michael, Nacaura D. Julian, and fara D. Martino, each accompanied by the *kaki-hau* or 'written seal' of the signatory. In Cingiuu the *ci* is to be pronounced as in Italian=Engl. *chi*; *g* too is soft, and the *u* which precedes it is due to a trick of Kyūshū pronunciation, by which *u* was usually inserted before a soft dental consonant.

It is easy to see by comparing the two documents that the Italian, and not the Japanese, is the original. A single example, that of the clumsy expression *teki no anchi ni nari sōrawanu* for 'invitta,' is sufficient to prove this. *Mi ashi wo sui-tatematsuri* for 'basciar li piedi' is another awkward rendering, but was probably unavoidable. The Lexicon *Latino-Japonicum* of 1585 explains *osculatio* by *Caño nado-uo sū coto nari*. 'Obeju' seems to be a corruption of *obedientia*. *Kashikoki* in modern usage means rather 'wise' or 'intelligent' than 'maravigliosa'; in older Japanese it represents 'awful,' 'dread.' *Taisetsu* is the word, rather inapt to modern ears accustomed to its colloquial use, constantly employed for 'love' in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries of that period. *Ana kashiko*, *ana kashiko* was the old form for the termination of a letter.

Probably the fullest account of this embassy is contained in the *De missione Legatorum Japonensium ad Romanam Curiam in Macaensi portu Sinici Regni*, 1590, an extremely rare book, of which there are copies in the National Library and in the *Torre do Tombo* at Lisbon, as well as at the British Museum. But before this a pretty complete narrative was published in Europe in 1585 under

* The Italian text, from a copy at Venice, is given in a little known book, *Le Antiche Ambasciate Giapponesi in Italia*, by G. Berchet. Venezia, 1877.

the title of *Relazioni della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma sino alla partita di Lisbona*. Of this there are at least four editions in Italian, one in 1585, two in 1586, one in 1587. One in French, another in German, and two in Spanish may be added. And besides all these complete accounts, numerous minor publications appeared, giving one or more of the speeches delivered on the occasion of the public audience which the Japanese had of the Pope, in Latin, French, German and Italian, at least sixteen in number and all about the same time. We may suppose therefore that the embassy which traversed Portugal, Spain, and Italy, excited no small stir in the Roman Catholic world.

In the *Relazioni della venuta* there occurs a mention of the MSS. of the *Museo Bоргiano*. After describing the reception of the Embassy by the Doge and his counsellors, and the various ceremonies of which they were spectators, the author, Guido Gualtieri, proceeds to say that the last of the numerous favours conferred on them by the Venetian Republic, was to cause the portraits of all four to be painted on the walls of the Sala del Gran Consiglio, amongst those of the Doges, the artist being paid the large sum of two thousand *scudi* for his work. It was also proposed to attach to the picture a writing in Japanese and Italian, recording their visit, its motives, and saying who they were. Which writing was delivered at the same meeting of the council, signed by each of the four, in both languages, after it had been publicly read to everyone's great satisfaction in accordance with the desire which they had expressed.*

There can be little doubt that the paper here spoken of is the very manuscript now in the possession of the Propaganda. I am, however, ignorant of the circumstances under which it was sent from Venice to Rome. The statement that each of the four envoys appended his own signature is of course inexact. It is quite clear they are all in one

* *Finalmente de' molti favori*, &c. p. 125 of the edition published at Rome by Zanetti, 1586.

handwriting, in accordance with what is, and always was, the Japanese custom, since it is not the name, but the seal that gives authenticity to documents, even of the highest importance. At the utmost it would only be the *kaki-han* or written seal that would be added by those whose names were written at the bottom. But here it looks as if the four *kaki-han* had been inscribed by the calligraphist who wrote the body of the document. In later times the *kaki-han* was not usually written by the person to whom it belonged. It was first printed in outline by means of a stamp, and then filled in with a brush, in the presence of the signatory, a process which I remember to have seen performed on the occasion of the signature of some convention or agreement concluded between H. M. Minister in Japan and the government of the Shōgun.

The scribe from whose hand this document came was in all probability a young Japanese, F. Giorgio Loyola, whom Bartoli describes as being a student highly skilled in their very difficult method of writing, and in the composition of appropriate and well-turned phrases.*

This embassy to Rome became afterwards a subject of bitter accusation against the Jesuits on the part of the Franciscans, in reply to which a long *Apologia* or defence, still extant in manuscript, was drawn up by Father Valignani, visitor of the missions in Japan. The proximate cause of the quarrel between the missionaries of the two orders was the brief issued early in 1585 by Pope Gregory XIII, forbidding the preaching of the Gospel in Japan to any but members of the Society of Jesus. As it is not readily accessible, it shall here be reproduced *in extenso*.

GREGORIUS PAPA XIII.

Universis et singulis presentes literas inspecturis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

* "Aggiunsero il F. Giorgio Loyola, Giapponese, e studente, peritissimo in quello tanto difficile loro forma di scrivere, e nella Sproprietà, e pulitezza del medesimo ragionare, in che dovea essere lor maestro. Bartoli, "Il Giappone," Rome, 1660, p. 171.

Ex pastoralis officio nostro cunctis populis, ac gentibus debitores nos esse intelligentes et precipue illis qui sunt remotissimi et quasi alterum orbem inhabitant et ad quos Christi Evangelium non ita pridem penetrare et locum habere cœpit ad Provinciam japoniam hoc tempore sollicitudinem curamque nostram convertimus animo revolventes quam potissimum rationem inire debeamus ut conversioni illorum gentilium promovendae et Christianae fidei propagationi quam optime consulatur, et quae obstare possint impedimenta de medio tollantur. Igitur cum antea seminariis studiosorum adolescentium fovendis ac non parva ex parte sustentandis operariisque illuc mittendis quidquid potuimus operis et auxilii nascenti illi christianitati praestiterimus nunc incommodis quibusdam impendentibus mature obviam eundam esse censemus. Ac etsi Regio illa latissima sit et magno vel potius maximo operariorum numero egeat tamen quia utilitas operis non tam in operariorum multitudine quam in agendi et docendi modo et ingeniorum gentis illius agnitione consistit. Ideo magna adhibenda est cautio ne permittantur illuc homines novi et incerti pervenire ex quorum novitate ac varietate talis oriatur admiratio quae insuetis noxia sit et periculosa ac Dei opus impedire vel perturbare possit. Proinde considerantes nullos hactenus Sacerdotes praeterquam Societatis Iesu ad Regna et Insulas Japonicas penetrasse et eos solos nationibus illis Christianae fidei suscipiendae auctores praeceptores, ac veluti parentes fuisse ac vicissim illos Societati ipsiusque hominibus singularem quamdam fidem pietatem ac reverentiam tribuisse; propterea Nos cupientes hanc coniunctionem et amoris charitatisque vinculum ad maiorem salutis eorum profectum solidum et incorruptum manere, Motu proprio ex certa quae scientia nostra omnibus Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis etiam Provinciae Chinae et Japonis sub interdicti ecclesiastici et suspensionis ab ingressu Ecclesiae Pontificaliumque exercitio aliis vero Sacerdotibus et Clericis ministrisque ecclesiasticis secularibus et regularibus cuiuscunque status gradus ordinis et conditionis existentibus, exceptis Societatis Iesu religiosis sub excommunicationis

maioris à qua nisi a Romano Pontifice vel in articulo mortis absolvi nequeant pœnis ipso facto incurrendis interdicimus et prohibemus ne ad insulas Regnaque Japonica Evangelii predicandi vel doctrinam christianam docendi aut sacramenta ministrandi aliave munera ecclesiastica obeundi causa sine nostra aut sedis Apostolicæ expressa licentia proficisci audeant, Mandantes propterea universis et singulis eisdem Patriarchis Archiepiscopis Episcopis et ceteris Ecclesiarum et locorum etiam regularium Prelatis per universum orbem constitutis ut præsentem literas in suis quibusque Ecclesiis Provinciis Civitatibus diocesis et jurisdictionibus ab omnibus inviolate observari et quoties ab aliquo dictæ societatis Religiosis requisiti fuerint solemniter publicari curent et faciant. Nos constitutionibus et ordinibus apostolicis ac in provincialibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus privilegiis quoque Indultis ex literis Apostolicis in genere vel in specie quibusvis Ecclesiis eorumque Prelatis seu Religionibus ordinibus eorumque superioribus cæterisque particularibus personis sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis concessis et approbatis et innovatis quibus omnibus illorum tenores præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes hac vice specialiter et expresse derogamus. Cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque Et quia difficile est præsentem literas ubicumque necesse fuerit [?] ostendi et publicari, volumus ut eorum exemplis etiam impressis manu notarii publici vel dictæ Societatis Secretarii subscriptis et personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ seu Praepositi Generalis ejusdem societatis pro tempore existentis sigillo munitis eadem fides habeatur quæ eisdem præsentibus haberetur si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub amulo Piscatoris die 28 Januarii 1585 Pontificatus Nostri anno Tertiodecimo.*

* A portion in Bartoli, Bk. II., p. 340, of the edition of Rome, 1660, copied also by Charlevoix, vol. IV., 222. In Spanish it is given in *extenso* in P. Guzman's *Historia de las misiones*. Alcala. 1601, tom. I., p. 649, and in Fr. 'J. F. de San Antonio's *Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio*, Manila, 1744, vol. III., p. 79.

The rivalry of the Orders was the proximate cause of quarrel, but there was another more remote, the jealousy between the Portuguese and Spaniards as discoverers, colonists, and traders. The former of these were the first nation who in modern times launched forth upon the ocean in search of new countries to conquer and colonize, and endeavoured to find a sea route to the Indies. At least they were the first to do this on a large scale, on system. It was under the direction of the famous Prince Henry the Navigator, born in 1394, that the Portuguese nation entered on that wonderful career of discovery in Africa and India, which, carried on for over a century with lavish expenditure of money and men, out of all proportion to the resources of the country, finally left it in a condition of exhaustion from which it has never emerged. The glorious memories of Portugal belong to the 15th and 16th centuries, and her boast is of having produced Vasco da Gama, Bartholomeu Diaz, Albuquerque, Magalhaens and Camoens. The tree has withered, or at least the fruit-bearing sap is dried up.

For a detailed account I may refer my readers to the valuable work of Mr. R. H. Major, "The Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator." Beginning with the successful expedition against Ceuta in 1415, the next step was to examine the northwest coast of Africa; but for twenty years they did not get beyond Cape Bojador, in spite of every effort. Porto Santo and Madeira were discovered in 1419-20, and part of the Azores in 1431-2. Cape Blanco in lat. 21° N was reached in 1441, Cape Verd four years later, St. Michaels and Terceira were added between 1444 and 1450, the Cape Verd Islands about 1455.* The line was crossed for the first time in 1471, the mouth of the Congo entered in 1484.

In 1402 a Frenchman from the neighbourhood of Dieppe had conquered Lancarote one of the Canary Islands; but, finding himself unable to effect the conquest of the whole

* As to the dates of these discoveries some uncertainty exists, but there is none as to the succession of events.

group with his own unaided resources, he returned to Europe and placed his acquisition under the protection of the king of Castile. By the aid of the king he was able to reduce Forteventura, and with further assistance procured from France he conquered Ferro. No further advance in the subjugation of the remaining islands was made for at least twenty years. Then, after a piratical attempt made by some Portuguese on Palma and Gomera, which were still independent, Prince Henry obtained in 1446 a charter from his brother the Regent Dom Pedro giving him the exclusive right of fitting out expeditions to the Canaries.

In order to secure the rights thus obtained at the cost of such great sacrifices, the prince obtained, we are told by Maffei, a grant from Pope Martin V* of everything that should be discovered between Cape Bojador and India. This Pope died in 1431, being succeeded by Eugenius IV, who is said to have confirmed the grant. Nicholas V, in 1454, issued another title of discovery,† the full text of which is given at page 406 of Vol I of the *Codea Juris*

* *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI, Florentiae 1588, p. 4. a Martino V. Pontifice Maximo impetravit (quod ipsum ab aliis deinde Pontificibus confirmatum est) uti quicquid a Ganaria ad ultimam usque Iudiam pateficeret, idquam optimo iure et conditione Lusitanicæ ditionis esset.*

† The title of the grant runs as follows. *Nicolaus V. dat. Alphonso Lusitaniæ Regi, cujus filius Henricus studio iter in Indiano Orientalem apericndi, usque ad Guineam et Nigrum flumen penetraverat, et insulas varias detexerat, Imperium Ghineæ, et potestatem barbaricæ Regna subjiciendi, prohibens ne alii sine Lusitanorum permissione ad eas oras navigent. Rome, VI. Id. Januar, 1454. It says "aliis nostris literis plenam et liberam inter Cætera concessimus facultatem." Further on; "Ac pro potioris juris et cautelæ suffragio, jam acquisita, et quæ in posterum acquiri contigerit, provincias, insulas, portus loca et maria quaecumque, quocumque et qualiacumque fuerint ipsamque conquestam à capitibus de Baradoek [Bojador] et de Nam [Nun, or Non] prædictis Alfonso Regi et successoribus suis Regibus dictorum regnorum ac Infantis præfatis perpetuū, donamus, concedimus et appropriamus per præsentem." The whole document is too long for quotation.*

Gentium Diplomaticus, edidit G. G. L. [Godefridus Guilielmus Leibnitius] *Guelferbyti* [Wolfenbuttel] 1747. folio. This of course was considered by Prince Henry sufficient justification for attempting to conquer at least those islands of the Canary group which had not been reduced by the French vassals of Castile, the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo and Ilha Deserta, the Azores and Cape Verd Islands, excepting, however, the Canary Islands, the sovereignty over which was acknowledged by the same instrument to belong to Castile and Aragon (the Crowns of which had since 1469 been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella). This treaty was confirmed two years later by a Bull of Sixtus IV, the original text of which is here subjoined.

Concordia inter Reges Castellae et Protugalliae de insulis Canariis confirmata à Sixto IV. Roma. II. Cal. Jul. 1481.

Voluerunt praefati Rex et Regina Castellae et Aragoniae et Siciliae, et illis placuit, ut ista pax sit firma et stabilis, et semper duratura: promiserunt ex nunc et in futurum, quod nec per se nec per alium secretum publicum, nec per suos heredes, et successores turbabunt, molest, aut inquietabunt de facto vel de jure in judicio vel extra judicium Dominos Regem and Principem Portugalliae, nec Reges qui in dicto Regno Portugalliae regnabunt, nec sua regna super possessione et quasi possessione in qua sunt, in omnibus commerciis, terris et permutationibus sive resignatis Guineae cum suis mineris sive aurifodinis et quibuscumque alijs insulis, littoribus seu castris, maris, terris detecti seu detegendis inventis insulis de Madera de Portu sancto, et insula deserta, et omnibus insulis dictis de los Açores, id est Accipitrum, et insulis Forum, et etiam in insulis de Caboverde, id est promontorio vir di, et insulis, quae deinceps inveniuntur, aut acquiruntur ad insulis de Canaria ultra, et circa in Conspectu Guineae, ita quod quicquid est inventum est (sic), et detectum, remaneant dictis Regi et Principi de Portugalliae et suis regnis: exceptis dumtaxat insulis Canaria, Lanzarota, Palma, Forteventura, la Gomera, Hosiéro,¹ Hagratiôsa,² Hagrân, Canaria,³ Canarise,⁴ et omnibus alijs insulis de Canaria acquisitis aut acquirendis, quae remanent regnis Castellae, et ita non turbabunt, nec molestabunt, nec inquietabunt quascumque personas, quod dicta mercimonia et contractus Guineae, ac dictas terras et littora, aut contratas inventas, et inveniendas nomine aut potentia, et manu dictorum Dominorum Regis et Principis Portugalliae nonnullisq; in eam sententiam, adjectis de Phutensis regni fure additum est).

¹ I. e., 1 Ferro, 2 da Graciosa, 3 La gran Canaria, 4 Tencrifa.

2. *Præterea Rex et Regina Castellæ et Legionis promiserunt et concesserunt modo supra dicto pro se et successoribus, ut se non intromittant ad inquirendum, ad intendendum aliquo modo in conquesta regni de Fez, sienti se non intromiserunt Reges antecessores sui præteriti Castellæ; imo libenter dicti Domini Rex et Princeps Portugalliæ et sua regna, et sui successores poterunt prosecqui dictam conquestam, &c. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno MCCCCLXXXI. XI. kal. Julii, pontificatus nostri, anno X.*

Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus, Pars 1. p. 446.

The year after the discovery of the Congo, the Portuguese under Diogo Cam reached Cape Cross in latitude 22°S. A powerful incentive to all these efforts was the hope of finding a practicable route to the kingdom of the fabulous potentate Prester John, the centre of whose dominions was now believed to be Abyssinia, and Don João II determined to make an attempt to reach that country by land and sea at the same time. In 1486 an expedition was despatched under Bartholomeu Diaz, with orders to sail round Africa. After passing the mouth of the Orange River, he ran before the wind for thirteen days, and then steered to the east, but not falling in with the land, bent his course northwards until he struck the coast at Flesh Bay, near the Mouth of the Gauritz River, having thus passed the Cape without knowing it. He pursued his way as far as the Great Fish River, where his men refused to proceed further. Turning back, full of grief at being unable to secure the fruits of his perseverance,* he sailed along the shore, passed the famous headland to which he gave the name of Cabo Tormentoso, but which the King on his return, after hearing the account of his discoveries, rechristened Cabo de Boa Esperança, and reached home in December, 1487. In the mean time two envoys had been despatched overland on the same quest, one of whom, Pero de Covilhã, passing by Cairo and down the Red Sea to Aden, navigated thence to India, and then turning back, visited Sofala on the coast of Africa, whence he returned to Cairo. Here he fell in with a messenger from the King, to whom he communicated his theory that by sailing along the coast of

* *Historia de Portugal*, Pinheiro Chagas, vol. IV, p. 214.

Guinea (the west coast of Africa was meant) it was certain that the end of the African continent would be reached; then steering eastward in the direction of Sofala and the Island of the Moon (Madagascar), a ship would be in the right track for India.

Ten years, however, passed before the information thus gained was turned to account. In the interval the most important of all maritime discoveries of post-classical times was made by Columbus. It would be out of place here to trace the history of his successive voyages; but it is important to note that from 1470 to 1484 he had resided in Portugal and in the Island of Porto Santo, had accompanied Portuguese expeditions to the Coast of Guinea, was married to the daughter of a Portuguese gentleman (Perestrello), and came into the possession of all the charts and papers left behind by the latter at his death, from which, as well as from the oral accounts of Portuguese mariners, he obtained valuable hints and information, which led to the conclusion that land lay at no great distance across the ocean. When he had conceived the idea of reaching the eastern coasts of Asia by sailing across the Atlantic, it was natural that he should in the first place submit it to Dom João II of Portugal, as he in fact did shortly after the accession of that King in 1481. But here he found no disposition to accept his plans. The Portuguese were more bent on carrying out their project of getting to India by the African route, in the success of which they already had such good reasons for feeling confident, than inclined to run away with what they must have regarded as the visionary scheme of launching forth upon an unknown sea in search of Marco Polo's golden island of Zipangu. The King referred Columbus and his proposal to two successive commissions, who treated him with scorn and advised the refusal of means for carrying it into effect.* He then laid his plans before the Genoese, his own countrymen, before Henry VII, and finally betook himself to Spain, where he obtained a hear-

* Pinheiro Chagas, IV., 268.

ing from Queen Isabella. By her intervention the King in 1492 finally consented to fit out the expedition, with which Columbus made his first discovery of Watling Island in the Bahamas, Cuba and Hispaniola (St. Domingo).

On his return in March, 1493, he was forced by bad weather to put into Lisbon, and was sent for to Santarem where Dom João was then residing. The King received him hospitably, says Barros,^{*} but was greatly vexed to perceive that the natives who accompanied him, instead of being dark-complexioned and curly-haired like the people of Guinea, resembled much more in looks, colour, and hair what he had been told with respect to the inhabitants of India. Columbus bragged a good deal of his discoveries and reproached Dom João with having refused his offers, thereby losing a splendid opportunity, which language of his so incensed certain of the courtiers, that they proposed to take his life. For it seemed to them that his return must prejudice the welfare of Portugal and be the cause of trouble to His Majesty, by reason of the exclusive rights of conquest conceded by the Pope in respect of the regions visited by Columbus. The King, however, refused to entertain this treacherous suggestion, and dismissed the Genoese in peace. Nevertheless he was not disposed to pass over in silence this encroachment on what he held to be his own domain, and forthwith prepared to despatch an expedition westward to take possession of the islands. Ferdinand of Aragon, on the other hand, resolved to keep what he had got, sent off despatches and envoys to Portugal demanding that the squadron should be detained, and proposing to treat. Dom João consenting, appointed plenipotentiaries, who arrived in Spain just as Ferdinand, by the conclusion of a peace with France, was left free to turn his arms, if need be, in another direction. He dismissed them therefore to their own country, with a message to the effect that he would shortly appoint envoys to treat in Portugal. When his agents arrived in Lisbon, they began to temporize and procrastinate, in order to gain time for

^{*} *Da Asia*, de João de Barros, Lisboa.

a second expedition under Columbus, which was being got ready for sea; and the King having lost his temper so far as to speak disparagingly of the personal defects of the one and the feeble intelligence of the other, they took their leave and departed. They were, however, speedily followed by another mission from Portugal, which succeeded in obtaining from Ferdinand an agreement to submit the question to the arbitrament of Pope Alexander (Rodrigo Borgia, by birth a Spaniard), who, in order to terminate the quarrel, issued the famous bulls of partition, dated 4th May, 1493.*

The first of these begins by reciting the successful efforts made by Ferdinand and Isabella for the conquest of Granada from the Saracens, and their desire to discover unknown islands and continents, with the intention of bringing the inhabitants over to the Catholic Faith, which hitherto had failed of its realization by reason of their being occupied in the said conquest; but it having pleased God that the recovery of the said kingdom should be accomplished, they had sent Columbus to search diligently for such islands and continents, till they had been now actually discovered. That the messengers of the Catholic Sovereigns believed the inhabitants to be well fitted to embrace the Catholic faith, that Columbus had erected a fortress in one of the principal islands; further that in the said islands and continents there had been discovered gold, spices and other precious things, and that they (the Catholic Sovereigns) proposed to conquer the inhabitants and to bring them over to the Catholic Faith: he therefore, commending their holy and laudable intention, exhorts them to continue in their desire of inducing the inhabitants to adopt the Christian religion, and not to be deterred therefrom

* The originals are to be found in Solorzano, *De Indiarum Jure*, tom. I. pp. 344 and 348. In Vol II of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viajes, Descubrimientos*, &c. are given two bulls, one of which is identical with Solorzano's first, while the other dated on the previous day is of similar purport to Solorzano's second, but differs considerably in the preamble. I am inclined to think that this latter, which is not from an original, is less correct than that given by the earlier compiler.

by any difficulties or dangers; and in order that they may undertake this work more freely and boldly, not in consequence of any petition addressed to him, but of his own free bounty, sure knowledge and fullness of apostolic authority (*de nostra mera liberalitate, et in certa scientia, ac de potestatis apostolicæ plenitudine*)* grants, concedes and assigns to them all islands and continents discovered or to be discovered, towards the south and west of a line drawn from the arctic to the antarctic pole at a distance of a hundred leagues from any one of the islands vulgarly called "los Azores y Cabo Verde," but so that said islands and continents should not have come into the possession of any other Christian King and potentate before the Christmas Day preceding, with all their lordships, cities, fortified camps, places, and towns, with all the rights, jurisdictions and other things pertaining to the same. He further enjoins upon them the duty of despatching good and God-fearing men, learned, skilled and experienced to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic Faith and imbue them with sound morals; prohibiting under pain of excommunication, all other persons of any rank whatsoever, even imperial or royal, from visiting the said islands or continents to trade or for any other purpose, all apostolic constitutions and ordinances, or other things to the contrary notwithstanding. The second bull, after reciting the foregoing donation, adds that, as divers privileges, favours, liberties, immunities, exemptions, powers, letters and indulgences have been granted to certain Kings of Portugal with respect to Africa, Guinea, the Gold coast and islands, he, desiring to bestow no less favours on them (the Catholic Sovereigns) and their successors, does by these presents concede the same to them as if they were fully expressed herein.

It looks as if the King of Portugal had very little to do with procuring the issue of these bulls, notwithstanding the statement that he agreed to refer the question to the Pope.

* These phrases are what in English deed drawing are called "common forms."

On the contrary, it seems that he was by no means contented with the terms of the decision,* and after having in vain protested at Rome, he proposed a compromise. Fresh negotiations were begun, which terminated in the signature of a Treaty at Tordesillas on the 7th June of the following year. By this instrument the line of demarcation was removed 270 leagues further to the west of the Cape Verd islands, all mention of the Azores being omitted. It was further stipulated that Spanish and Portuguese vessels should respectively keep to their own side of the said line. A third article provided for a joint expedition to start from Grand Canary, passing by the Cape Verd islands, and thence steering straight to the westward for a distance of 370 leagues. Arrived at the required point, they were to lay down the line in writing, and if it should happen to intersect any island or continent, marks of some kind were to be set up. By Article 14 it was agreed that Spanish vessels proceeding towards their 'sphere of influence,' as they must needs pass through that of Portugal, should steer a straight course without turning either to the right or the left.

The line was, however, never laid down, as Pinheiro remarks, for various reasons, but principally because no one knew how to do it.†

For the first few years both nations continued in the main to develop their respective rights on opposite sides of the world. In July, 1497, Vasco da Gama was despatched to India in command of a squadron of four vessels, and, passing round the Cape of Good Hope, sighted on Christmas Day a part of the coast which was in consequence named Natal. Pursuing his way northwards, on the 15th of April he reached Melinde, whence he struck across the Indian Ocean, anchoring at Calicut on the 20th of May. Thence, after a stay of three months,

* *Histoire abrégée des Traités de Paix*, revised and enlarged by Schoell, Brussels, 1837, Tom I. p. 396.

† According to Schoell, *op. cit.* p. 397, the line would have been drawn 35° 42' W. of Greenwich.

he passed up the coast as far as the island of Anchediva not far from Goa, where he shaped his course westwards, crossing back again to Melinde. After doubling the Cape, the squadron followed the coast as far as Cape Verd, where the ships were separated by a storm, one of them, commanded by Nicolas Coelho, proceeding direct to Lisbon, where it arrived on the 29th July, 1499. Vasco da Gama pursued his way to the Azores, where he transferred himself from his own to a lighter and swifter vessel, in which he reached home exactly a month later than his lieutenant. Thus at last was accomplished the important aim which successive kings of Portugal had held constantly in view for nearly sixty years. And the value of the achievement will appear so much the greater when we reflect that up to this moment the result of Columbus' voyages, as far as was known in Europe, was confined to the discovery of a few islands, and that the wealth of Mexico and Peru had not yet been dreamed of. In 1500, in the course of the second Portuguese expedition to India, Cabral accidentally discovered the coast of Brazil, which, falling within the line of demarcation established by the 'Treaty of Tordesillas, became of right a possession of the Portuguese crown.

The imaginary existence of this line, which, as before remarked, was never laid down as agreed upon, did not prevent the mariners of both nations from now and then transgressing it, and thus occasioning further disagreements between the two courts. These eventually culminated in a quarrel that might have attained serious dimensions, after the celebrated voyage which laid open the passage to India by the Straits of Magellan, commenced by the intrepid navigator after whom they are called, continued by Barbosa and completed by Sebastian d'Elcano.

After Albuquerque's Conquest of Malacca in 1511, one of his first measures was to despatch Antonio d'Abreu with three ships to discover "Maluco, the land where the clove grew." He was accompanied by Francisco Serrão, who being wrecked on Ternate was left behind there with his

crew. The latter wrote letters to Magellan, who had been his comrade in India and especially at the capture of Malacca, exaggerating the distance eastwards from that port. So that possibly Magellan honestly believed the Spice Islands to lie within the Spanish half of the world. At all events, Magellan appears to have received these letters just at the time that he quarrelled with the king of Portugal about a small addition to his pay.* Renouncing his allegiance, he betook himself to Seville, where he married a Spanish lady, and became acquainted with the officials of the newly established *Casa de Contratacion*, or India House. To them he suggested that Spain ought to take possession of the Moluccas. Osorius† reckons Malacca to be 132° east of Lisbon, and the line of demarcation to be 36° to the west of that city, thus leaving 12° to the east of Malacca within the Portuguese domain.‡ The council replied that they knew very well that the Moluccas were Spanish property by right, but in order to reach them it would be necessary to violate the treaty, which forbade Spanish vessels from navigating the Portuguese seas. Magellan rejoined that if they would find him ships, he would take them thither by a new and altogether unknown route. In the end Charles V, after hearing his arguments and explanations, consented to furnish him with five vessels, and on the 1st August, 1519, he sailed from San Lúcar on his famous voyage. After his violent death at Zebu in the Philippine Islands, and the murder of João Serrão at Matan, the survivors continued their course on board the two remaining ships, under the command of Sebastian d'Elcano. They proceeded to the Moluccas, where they found the Portuguese already established on one of the islands, but loaded the vessels

* Correa, *Hendas da India* II. 625. Barros, *Da Asia*, V. 622. Pinheiro Chagas, V, 275, says that his pay was 2312 reis per mensem, and that the amount in dispute was 100 reis.

† *De Rebus Emmanuelis*. Col. Agrip. p. 324.

‡ The Spice Islands, according to Stieler's *Handatlas*, would be 170° $10'$ East of the Tordesillas line.

with spices in spite of their opposition, and sailed for Europe. Finally the sole remaining ship, the *Victoria*, reached San Lúcar on the 7th September 1522, having put in at Santiago in the Cape Verd group, where they narrowly escaped capture at the hands of the Portuguese.

João III immediately despatched an envoy to Spain to remonstrate against this invasion of his rights, but Charles V. responded by complaining of the violence committed at Santiago against his subjects. The dispute continued for some years. The Spaniards having been forcibly ejected from the islands by the Portuguese, it was ultimately agreed by the Treaty of Sargoça, of the 22nd April, 1529, that the King of Spain should sell his claims for the sum of 350,000 gold ducats, and the islands remain the property of the Portuguese crown. By another article the line of demarcation in that part of the world was drawn 17° to the east of the Moluccas. This stipulation, however, did not prevent the Spaniards from conquering the Philippine group, which lay well within this line, and capturing Zebu in 1564, and Manila* in 1571.

The Portuguese had entered into commercial relations with China in 1516, and twenty-one years later had begun to establish themselves at Macao, whence they soon after began to trade with Japan. The Jesuits, who were admitted into Portugal in 1540 and speedily acquired great influence in that country, made that port their headquarters for the evangelization of Japan. They proceeded thither, of course, by the Cape of Good Hope, Goa and Malacca, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that they should consider their interests to be bound up with those of the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Spaniards came to Manila from Mexico, bringing Franciscan and Augustinian friars, as well as a few Jesuits, while the first bishop of the Philippines was a Dominican. They had at first, doubtless, too much to occupy them at home in the archipelago, to think of extending their efforts to Japan; but in 1580 Philip II of Spain seized

* Manila is 124° east of Greenwich.

upon the crown of Portugal, and the Spaniards of Luzon considered themselves entitled to enjoy the same privileges both as to commerce and missionary undertakings as his Portuguese subjects. Philip, however, was not disposed to admit this claim. He had promised to rule Portugal for the Portuguese, and he strenuously supported the Jesuits in maintaining the exclusive possession of this fruitful mission field which had been granted to them by the Pope in 1585. It was only towards the end of his reign, when he was enfeebled by disease and disappointment, that the Spanish missionaries succeeded in obtaining a footing there.

Enough has, however, been now said to show that whatever the original dislike of the older orders for the Society of Jesus, there had been for years past enough ill-blood between the two nations which they represented to impart to that feeling a peculiar bitterness, which led to the attempts, only too successful, now made by the Franciscans to damage the good name and undermine the influence of the followers of Loyola and Xavier. It was a spectacle that, we cannot doubt, must have afforded intense gratification to the enemies of Christianity, and have discredited all missions alike in the eyes of the unconverted and ignorant multitude.



in l'aria, et quasi del sig. del cielo. che ha creato tutti i
 cor, et la terra. Et ha suo unico Figliuolo. et nostro
 figlio. Noi di don Prospero marchese del V. di Lingga
 Ambasciatore del Re Francesco di Congo. Come anche
 Michele nipote di don Prospero Re di Frinca, et questo
 di don Carlo, principe di Coimbra, et loro Ambascia-
 tore. Messere don Giuliano, et fante don Martino
 Baroni del Re di Gran. siamo venuti dalle Regni del
 Giappone a Roma, comandando il scabio de tre anni per
 venire in nome di dadi Re, et de' Signori di quel re-
 ge a ricevere li patti al sommo Sanctus, et renderli
 la debita obbedienza finita. La nostra Ambasciatore se ri-
 comandò ai rei Signori, non habbiamo voluto desio-
 di udere la meraviglia, et in tutta Città de Venet-
 tin, La quale ha uento superata la nostra esalta-
 zione, et in una ricomuni honori, et regni di Gran-
 uolente che dalla serenissima Repubblica Venetiana
 si potevano sapere, ne è parso così ragionevole
 lasciarla quella scrittura per memoria nel luogo dove
 venire in fede che mai ci scorderemo dell' onore
 che ne ha restato et della cose rare che qui
 habbiamo visto, et se s. ora potrà restarsi ser-
 uita che richiamo il Giappone. Saremo che
 Venetia la quale ha tante la gran d'altitudine
 bonds avai nominata sarà molto più divulgato-
 ni i paesi nobi darsi come comincia. Illo di
 della nostra Santa. Dio. anno della nostra redentione
 1595 -

para 3. Marcho

Marina D. Julia.

Cinqua do Niche.

João do Mancio



ON RACE STRUGGLES IN COREA.

BY

E. H. PARKER.

(Read 16th April, 1890.)

INTRODUCTION.

This paper consists of two parts. The first part is a translation of the Chapter in the Early *Han shu* which treats of *Chao-sien*. The *Han shu* was written during the first century A.D., and treats here of the period B.C. 200 to about A.D.1.

As will be seen from a perusal of the following parts, and of the notes, nothing whatever was known of *Chao-sien* to the Chinese government or historians previous to this period. That in very ancient times the tribes of the so-called Corean races formed states, and that Chinese adventurers or exiles assisted in developing them, is not only possible but probable: but all the allied facts and details connected with such development were ascertained by the Chinese after the *Han* conquests in the second century B.C., and nothing deserving the name of history can be predicated except what is given here.

The second part consists of a translation of that part of the *After Han shu* which treats of the peninsular states during the period A.D.1 to A.D. 200. It is divided into chapters, and each chapter treats of one state, giving, not only the history of the *After Han shu*, but the whole international history of that state, so far as I have been able to ascertain it, up to modern times. These extra details are taken, with very few exceptions, from extracts culled from the vast dictionary of quotations known as the *P'ei-wên*

Yün-fu. Towards the end, a few particulars have been taken from the *Tung-fan Ki-yao*, a recent work on Corea compiled from Chinese and Corcan sources. The essence of this last work has already been translated and published in the *Chinese Recorder* and *China Review* for 1886.

* * * * *

The chapter in the *After Han Shu* which treats of early Japan is being published elsewhere, and is similarly supplemented by a number of extracts, bringing its foreign history from the earliest times up to date. The paper on Japan contains much which bears on the development of Corea, and may be consulted together with this paper.

The general results are these. The Chinese have overrun Corea twice, once in the second century B.C. and once in the seventh century A.D. In both cases their direct rule was short, and their vice-regal rule never extended beyond the northern half of Corea, or, for any time, even beyond the mountain range which divides the north part into east and west portions.

The Japanese never set foot at all in that part of Corea just mentioned subject to immediate Chinese influence, except for a few months, during Hideyoshi's invasion, towards the end of the 16th century. The Japanese never ruled directly any part of Corea, but there is reason to believe that some of the Japanese race were still to be found indigenous in the extreme south of Corea as late as the early centuries of our era. They never exercised any permanent influence upon the south-east part, but they were undoubtedly influential in the south-west part up to the second Chinese invasion, after which their influence, except as pirates, ceased, until Hideyoshi conceived the idea of attacking China through Corea.

From very ancient times up to this day, however, they seem to have had at least one settlement in the extreme south, at or near Fusan.

PART I.

THE HAN SHU (FIRST CENTURY A.D.), UPON CHOSEN, CHAOSIEN, OR NORTH COREA.

Man (滿), king of *Chao-sien*, was a native of *Yen* (燕), which state had, from the time known as the "Fighting-kingdom-period," to a certain extent taken the so-called *Chên-fan* (眞番) territory under its protection; had appointed officers to govern it; and had constructed a fortified frontier line for self-protection.

When *Ts'in* (秦) overthrew the state of *Yen*, *Chao-sien* formed part of the outlying territory beyond *Liao Tung*. On the rise of the *Han* (漢) dynasty, it was found too distant to be protected without great trouble, and so the old frontier line was re-established with the River *P'ai* (溟), (in *Loh lang* district, as afterwards created) as the boundary; and it belonged to *Yen*.

When *Lu Kwan*¹ (盧綰), Prince of *Yen*, rebelled and took refuge with the Huns, *Man* fled for his life, collected a band of over a thousand men, forced the barbarians to join him, and hurried off towards the east, passing beyond the frontier lines, crossing the River *P'ai*, and occupying the vacant land left by *Ts'in* on both sides of the fortified line; he managed to bring partly under his control the barbarians of *Chên-fan* and *Chao-sien*, together with all the Chinese adventurers from the states of *Yen* and *Ts'i* (齊), and set himself up as king, with his capital town at *Wang-hien*

1. An extract from the *After Han Shu* says it was when *Chên Shih* (陳涉) raised the standard of rebellion against *Ts'in*: but both men seem to have done so at the same time.

(王險).² As the Chinese empire settled down during the reigns of the emperor *Hwei* and the empress *Kao*, the prefect of *Liao Tung* bespoke *Man's* services as a semi-independent ruler to keep in order the barbarians beyond the frontier lines, to prevent them from raiding on the borders, and to throw no obstacle in the way of their coming to see the Emperor, should they wish to do so. This arrangement was reported to and approved by his Majesty.

Thus *Man* obtained the moral support of both troops and subsidies, and gradually reduced the petty neighbouring communities, such as *Chên-fan* and *Lin-t'un* (臨屯), all of which fell under his sway.

His dominions now covered an area of several thousand *li*, and were transmitted in hereditary fashion, until they came into the hands of his grandson *Yu-K'ü* (右渠).³ By this time adventurers from the *Han* [or Chinese] dominion were continually increasing in number, but no one had ever come from *Chao-sien* into China to see the Emperors. the *Chên-fan* and *Ch'ên* (辰) states, true, were desirous of submitting an address and seeing the emperor's face, but their way was blocked, and they could not get through.

In the second year of the period *Yüan-fêng* (B.C. 109), a Chinese envoy named *Shéh Ho* (涉河) criticised *Yu-K'ü's* neglect in this matter; but the latter was still unwilling to comply with the Emperor's mandate.

As he approached the River *T'ai*, near the frontier, on

2. The River *P'ai* is said to have run into the sea east of *Leu-fang* (隸方, a city of *Loh-lang*). A second account is that it rose beyond the *Liao Tung* barrier and flowed south-west, entering the sea west of *Loh lang* district. A third account says it gave its name to a district (浪水縣) to the north-east of *Loh-lang*. From all this it would appear that it is the *Ta-t'ung Kiang*. By the *Sak* (薩) river of 800 years later is meant the *Tchyang-tchyên* (淸川) River of the French maps, being the next considerable river north of *P'ing-yung* and of the *Ta-t'ung* River. *P'ing-yang* is the ancient *Chao-sien*, capital of *Wanghien*.

3. In B.C. 128, as will appear later on, *Nan-lü*, king of *Wei*, rebelled against *Yu-k'ü*; and the Chinese general *P'êng Wu* (彭吳) penetrated to the Pacific coast and established the 滄海郡 or Pacific District.

his return, the envoy caused his charioteer to assassinate the petty prince *Chang* (長) who was escorting him, at once crossed the river, and hastened to get within the fortified lines. He then returned and reported to the Emperor that he had killed a *Chao-sien* général. The Emperor received this report without question, as the envoy's reputation was a good one, and conferred upon him the appointment of Protector of the Eastern Tribes of *Liao Tung* (東部都尉).

Chao-sien, feeling aggrieved at *Shèh Ho's* behaviour, raised troops, attacked, and killed him. The Emperor now enlisted a number of criminals for a campaign against *Chao-sien*; and, the following autumn, despatched Admiral *Yang P'uh* (楊樸) from *Ts'i* (*Shan Tung*) across the Gulf of *Liao Tung* (渤海) with 50,000 troops under his command; and ordered Lieutenant-General *Ken Ch'i* (荀翼) to march overland by way of *Liao Tung*, in order to punish *Yu-K'ü*, who mobilised his troops and took up a strong position in expectation. The Lieutenant-General's troops were mostly *Liao Tung* men, and nearly all exposed themselves to the penalty of decapitation by breaking into disorder and running back at the first onslaught. The Admiral's force of *Ts'i* soldiers first arrived before the capital *Wang-hien*. *Yu-K'ü's* officer in charge of the city, having ascertained by reconnoitring that the Admiral's troops were not numerous, at once sallied forth to attack them, on which the latter likewise broke in disorder, the Admiral getting himself separated from the main body, and disappearing among the mountains for over ten days, after which he rallied his scattered troops and managed to collect a second force together. The Lieutenant-General meanwhile attacked the *Chao-sien* western column on the River *P'ai*, but failed to make any impression.

The Emperor, in consequence of the failure of his two commanders, now despatched an officer named *Wei Shan* (衛山), to take advantage of the presence of the troops in *Chao-sien*, and proceed thither to deliver a lecture to *Yu-K'ü*. When *Yu-K'ü* saw the envoy, he made a respectful obeisance, apologised, and said "that he had been quite ready

"to submit, but that he had feared lest other of his officers "should be again treacherously murdered: that now having "a *bonâ fide* envoy before him, he begged to surrender, and "to send his heir-apparent with an apology, with fifty horses, and with provisions for the troops." The heir had a force of 10,000 armed men at his back, all ready to cross the River *P'ai*. The envoy and the Lieutenant-General doubted their good faith, and said: "As your heir-apparent is giving "in your submission, you should tell your men not to carry "arms." The heir-apparent also suspected treachery on the part of the envoy and Lieutenant-General, and therefore withdrew his force without crossing the River *P'ai*.

Wei Shan reported all this to the Emperor, who had him executed.

The Lieutenant-General routed the upper column on the River *P'ai*, and advanced to the city walls, the north-west portions of which he besieged. The Admiral advanced in coöperation, occupying the south side. On this, *Yu-K'ü* firmly entrenched himself in the city during several months, and all attempts to reduce it were unsuccessful. The Lieutenant-General was a man who had always been in high favour at court, and had now under his command troops from *Yen* and *Tai* (代) (*Chih-Li* and *Shan-Si*), fierce and flushed with victory. The Admiral, on the other hand, was in command of *Ts'i* men, who had crossed the sea, and had for the most part broken more than once in defeat. He had been hard pressed and separated from his troops on the occasion of his last fight with *Yu-K'ü*, so that his men had lost heart, and he himself felt somewhat small. In besieging *Yu-K'ü*, therefore, he steadily favoured a peaceful understanding, whilst the Lieutenant-General on his part was eager for battle. The high officers of *Chao-sien* therefore secretly despatched messengers to put pressure on the Admiral with a view to making him lay down his arms; but, though frequent parleyings took place, the Admiral could not make up his mind. The Lieutenant-General repeatedly made appointments with him for a joint attack, but the Admiral was equally anxious to

bring over the Lieutenant-General to his own proposals, and would not coöperate. The Lieutenant-General also sent messengers to try and sow dissensions which would lead to a (Corean) submission, but *Chao-sien* was unwilling to submit, and favoured the Admiral's policy.

Thus the two commanders failed to hit it off together. It seemed to the Lieutenant-General, that as the Admiral had already been guilty of losing one army, and was now making friendly advances to *Chao-sien*, there must be some rebellious scheme on his part, seeing that *Chao-sien* would not surrender: and so he dared not strike a blow himself either.

The Emperor said: "As my generals seemed to make no progress, I sent *Wei Shan* to command *Yu-K'ü* to surrender, but he could not make up his mind, thus overthrowing the Lieutenant-General's plans and making a mess of the peace proposals too. The two commanders are now besieging the city, and are still at loggerheads, unable to come to any decision. I therefore send the former prefect of *Tsi-nan*, *Kung-sun Sui* (公孫遂), to proceed to the spot and straighten matters, with full powers to act."

When the Commissioner arrived, the Lieutenant-General said: "*Chao-sien* would have been reduced long ago, and "the reason why she has not done so is that the Admiral "has not coöperated with me as I repeatedly appointed "with him." And he proceeded to give the commissioner a full account of his suspicions, with reasons, adding: "In "this unsatisfactory condition of things, I fear that great "harm will result, not only to the Admiral, but to my "army, which will be annihilated too."

The Commissioner agreed with him, and exercised his full powers by summoning the Admiral to the Lieutenant-General's camp on a war conference. He then proceeded to order the Lieutenant-General's staff to arrest the Admiral and take over both commands.

This was all reported to the Emperor, who approved of the Commissioner and the Lieutenant-General taking

over the united commands and vigorously striking at *Chao-sien*.

The *Chao-sien* officers *Siang Lu-jên*, (相路人), *Siang Han T'ao*, (相韓陶), and *Niki Siang San* (尼鷄相參), held a consultation with General *Wang Hiah* (王峽) and said: "At first it was a question of the Admiral's surrender: now they have arrested the Admiral, and the Lieutenant-General unites both commands: they are going to fight more vigorously, and it is to be feared that we shall not be a match for them."

The king being still unwilling to surrender, *Han T'ao*, the General *Wang Hiah*, and *Lu-jên* all deserted to the Chinese, and *Lu-jên* died on the way.

In the summer of the third year of *Yüan fêng*, (B. C. 108), *Niki Siang San*⁴ sent a man to assassinate the *Chao-sien* king *Yu-K'ü*, and came to offer the surrender of *Wang-hien* city; but it was not reduced, in consequence of which *Yu-K'ü*'s great officer *Ch'êng-sz* (成巳) again rebelled, and once more attacked the Chinese officials.

The Lieutenant-General who had despatched *Yu-K'ü*'s son *Chang* (長) and had surrendered *Siang Lu-jên*'s son *Tsui* (最) this purpose, persuaded the people to assassinate *Ch'ên-sz*.

In consequence of this the Commissioner divided *Chao-sien* into the four tribes of *Chên-fan* (滇番), *Hüen-t'ü* (玄菟), *Lin-t'ün* (臨屯), and *Loh-lang* (樂浪). *Siang San* was created Marquess of *Hwoh-ts'ing* (獲濟); *Han T'ao* Marquess of *Ts'in-tsü* (秋且); *Wang Hiah* Marquess of *P'ing-chou* (平州); and *Chang* Marquess of *Ki* (幾). *Tsui* was considered to be entitled to some reward, as his father had died, and was made Marquess of *Tsü-yang* (沮陽).

4. As was pointed out in a previous paper upon Early Japan, published in the *China Review*, the prefix *siang* (相), "minister," is merely a contemptuous way of alluding to high foreign officers whose real rank is not understood, just as we might say in English "Boss" Tweed, "Boss" Assamquatia, &c. The term *Shwai* (帥) prefixed to the name of one of the early Japanese princes named *Shêng* (升) seems to have much the same meaning. The expression 帥司 is used centuries later for the kinglets of south-west China.

The Lieutenant-General was summoned to the capital, convicted of desire for glorification, jealousy, and wrong-headed strategy, and was cut to pieces in the market-place.

The Admiral was convicted of failure to await the Lieutenant-General's arrival at *Lieh-K'eu* (列口) city, and of improperly and unsuccessfully taking the initiative alone, with a great consequent loss in men. Nominally his punishment was capital also, but he ransomed himself off with the future status of commoner.

* * * * *

The moral (贊) of the above story is thus summed up by the historian:—

The successive rulers of *Ch'u* and *Yüeh* (China to the south of the *Yang-tse* River) possessed their territory for many generations. During the decrepitude of the [Imperial House of] *Chou*, *Ch'u's* dominions were 5,000 *li* in area, and king *Ken-tsien* (句踐) lorded it in *Yüeh* (modern *Chêh Kiang*). When *Ts'in* annihilated the power of the feudal states, there was only one principality left untouched, and that was *Tien* (滇, modern *Yün Nan*) in the hands of *Ch'u*. When the (Imperial House of) *Han* slaughtered the south-west barbarians, again *Tien* only was favoured; and when Eastern *Yüeh* was annihilated, and the population bodily transferred, *Yu-wang* (縣王), *Kü-ku* (居股),⁵ and such were still Marquesses of 10,000 households. The opening up of three quarters of the world in each case originated with restless subjects; and consequently we find that the introduction to the south-west barbarians began with *T'aug Mêng*, (唐蒙, a General of *Han Wu Ti*), and *Sz-ma Siang-ju* (司馬相如). The two *Yüeh* were owing in the beginning to *Yen Chu* (嚴助) and *Chu Mai-ch'ên* (朱買臣). *Chao-sien*, from *Shêh Ho's* time, entered upon a glorious destiny, though the accomplishment of the work was troublesome enough. If we look back at *T'ai Tsung's* (太宗, otherwise *Han Wên Ti's*) firm conciliation of *Wei T'o* (尉它. i. e. the "guardian T'o," a northern Chinese adventurer named *Chao T'o* who founded at modern Canton the first organized

5. I cannot identify these names.

Chinese colonial kingdom in the South), how are we not struck with the aptness of the ancient saying: "Attract them by proper forms; bring over the distant by a correct policy!"⁶

6. The "moral" is couched in rather turgid and obscure language, and I cannot find reference to some of the places and persons mentioned: moreover, there may be misprints in the edition, such as I frequently find in easier chapters. Consequently, I must leave my learned readers to "point" the moral and adorn the tale for themselves according to their own lights and imaginations.

PART II.

THE AFTER HAN SHU, OR COREA SUBSEQUENT TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

CHAPTER I.

FU-YÜ.

The state of *Fu-yü* (夫餘) was one thousand *li* to the north of *Hüan-t'u* (玄菟). It adjoined *Kao-Keu-li* (高句麗) on the south, the *Yih-leu* (挹婁) on the east, and the *Sienpi* (鮮卑) on the west. On the north was the Weak Water⁷ (弱水). The territory was two thousand *li* in extent each way and was originally the *Wei* or *Hwei* (濊) land.⁸

Now, the king of the northern barbarian kingdom of *Soh-li*⁹ (索離) having gone forth on an expedition, his handmaid after that was found with child.¹⁰

On his return he was about to kill her. The handmaid said: "Formerly I noticed in the sky a vapour as large as an egg, which descended upon me, in consequence of which I conceived."

The king imprisoned her, and in due time she bore a son, whom the king ordered to be put into the pig-stye; but the pigs blew upon him with their breath so that he did

7. This name is usually applied to some river or lake in Tibet near the kingdom of the *Tung-nü* (東女), which was for long ruled by female princes. As the semi-mythical female ruler *Si-wang Mu* (西王母) is frequently connected with the locality of the Weak Water, it is not impossible that these two gynocracies may be one and the same in origin. But here the River Amur is meant.

8. Also written 濊, and 蕞 in other records. The characters 夫 and 麗 are written 扶, and 麗 in more modern times. The *Wei* are afterwards found much further south.

9. To be pronounced *Toh*, and also written 桑.

10. This story is told in the *Peh Shih* of the progenitors of the later state of *Peh-tsi*.

not die. Again removed to the horse-stall, the horses did likewise. The king took him for a supernatural being (神), and allowed his mother to take up and rear him. He was named *Tung-ming*¹¹ (東明). As *Tung-ming* grew up, he became an expert archer, and the king, disliking his formidable disposition, again wished to kill him. *Tung-ming* fled away south to the *Yen-sz* (掩濤) River (possibly the *Kai-sz* 蓋斯 River in the *Kau-li* of the commentator's period). Shooting into the water with his bow, he found that the fishes and tortoises all collected upon the surface, and *Tung-ming* was enabled to cross over on their backs. He then came to *Fu-yn* and became king of it.

It is the most considerable plain of all the eastern barbarian regions: the soil is suited to the five cereals: it produces noted horses,¹² red jade, sables, marmots (鼯), and pearls as large as sour dates (*Zizyphus saporifer*, Williams). They have circular stockades in place of city walls, and there are palace-buildings, granaries, stores, and prisons. The people were of an uncouth, robust, and hardy habit, yet scrupulous, honest, and not given to plundering raids. Their arms were bows and arrows, swords and spears, and their officials were called after the six domestic animals: there were the horse *Kia* (加), cow *Kia*, and dog *Kia*, and each settlement was the appanage (主屬) of a *Kia*.¹³ In eating and drinking they used dishes and platters, and when they met together they observed the etiquette of the table.¹⁴

They worshipped Heaven, in the last moon (臘月) of the

11. The *Tung-ming* Prince is the name given in history to *Kao Chu-meng* (高朱蒙), founder of *Kao Kiu-li* or the *Kao* branch of the *Kiu-li*.

12. Probably the red *séh séh* 瑟瑟 so often spoken of in Manchuria.

13. In another part of the *After Han Shu* these chiefs are called 大人, and the settlements are said to be situated in the mountain forests.

14. Referring to the 洗爵奠單 of the *Shi-king*, and 拜至拜洗拜爰拜進 of the *Li-ki*. The modern Japanese still have a graceful way of doing obeisance to the food they are about to eat by raising the chopsticks to the forehead and bowing to it.

year, at a great assembly, when eating, drinking, singing, and dancing went on for several days: this was called "welcoming the drum."¹⁵ At this period the action of the criminal courts was suspended, and they released the prisoners.

When they were at war, they also worshipped heaven, killing an ox, and divining good or ill-luck by reference to the hoof.¹⁶ They travelled about indifferently day and night, and were fond of singing and humming, the sound of which was incessant.

They were wont to be severe and prompt in their punishments, and the household (both sexes) (家人) of the condemned were always relegated (戍) to slavery. Robberies were visited with twelve-fold amercement. Lewdness was punished with the death of both man and woman, and they were particularly severe on jealous wives. The bodies of those killed were exposed upon a hill. If the elder brother died, the younger married his sister-in-law.¹⁷ The dead were placed in shells without inner coffins. Homicides were kept for burying alive at funerals, sometimes a whole hundred of them being used. At the king's obsequies a jade casket was used: during the *Han* dynasty a jade casket was always sent beforehand to be kept at the *Hüan-t'u*¹⁸ prefecture, and, when the king died, it was sent for to bury him withal.

During the *Kien-wu* period (A.D. 25-55) all of the eastern barbarian states came to pay their respects to the Emperor. In the 25th year, the king of *Fu-yü* sent an envoy to submit

15. The Huns had a similar annual assembly at the *Shanyü's* *ordu* or "Dragon City." The drum seems to have played the part of a rallying standard at the election of chiefs among some Tungusic tribes.

16. *Hwai-Nan-t's* mentions divining in China with a cow's hoof or a pig's skull, and says that tortoise shell was substituted afterwards on account of its superior age. The *Peh-hu Luh* (北戶錄) mentions tiger divining, and bird divining. The last, it may be observed, was the speciality of the *Tung-nü* Tibetans.

17. This was also a Hun practice; indeed they married their own step-mothers too.

18. The Chinese residency in North-East Corea.

tribute, and the Emperor *Kwang-wu* acknowledged it handsomely: after this diplomatic relations (使會) were kept up annually, until the 5th year of *Yung-ch'u* (A.D. 111) in *An Ti*'s reign, when the king of *Fu-yü* for the first time led 7,000 or 8,000 horsemen and infantry to make a plundering raid on *Loh-lang*,¹⁹ killing and wounding officials and people. After this they again gave in their adhesion.

In the 1st year of *Yung-ning* (A.D. 120),²⁰ the heir apparent *Wei-ch'eu-t'ai* (尉仇台) was sent to the Emperor's palace to present tribute, and the Emperor bestowed upon *Wei-ch'eu-t'ai* a seal, sash, gold, and gay stuffs.

In the 1st year of *Yun-ho* (A.D. 136), in *Shun Ti*'s time, the king came to court at the capital. The Emperor gave him a concert at the eunuch house (黃門), with a mimic bull-fight (角抵戲), and then dismissed him.

In the 4th year of *Yen-hi* (A.D. 161) in *Hwan Ti*'s time, they sent an Envoy to present their congratulations at the court,²¹ and to offer tribute.

In the 1st year of *Yung-k'ang* (A.D. 167) the king *Fu-t'ai* (夫台) led over 20,000 men to raid on *Hüan-t'u*. The prefect of *Hüan-t'u*, *Kung-sun Yih* (公孫域) attacked and defeated him, cutting off over 1,000 heads.

So until the 3rd year of *Hi-p'ing* (A.D. 174) in *Ling Ti*'s time, when they again submitted an address and presented tribute.

Fu-yü originally belonged to *Hüan-t'u*, but in the time of *Hien Ti* (A.D. 190-220) the king begged to belong to *Liao Tung*.

The above is the history of *Fu-yü*, as given in the *After Han Shu*. It is not mentioned in the *Han Shu*, but we are told in that work that *Hüan-t'u*, to which *Fu-yü* first belonged, had 45,000 families of 222,000 souls. There were three districts, *Kao-K'eu-li*, which seems to have

19. The Chinese residency at modern *P'ing-yang* in North Corea.

20. As will be seen later on, *Fu-yü* was now assisting China against the *K'eu-li*.

21. The custom appears to have been for tributary princes to come as the Mongols still do.

taken in the upper *Liao* and *Nau-su* Rivers (南蘇); *Shang-yin-t'ai* (上殷台, changed by the usurper *Wang Mang*, about A.D. 10, to 下殷台); and *Si-kai-ma* (西蓋馬), which took in the *Ma-tsz* (馬訾) River and *Yen-nan* (鹽難) River, and entered the sea near *Si-an P'ing* (西安平), with a total course of over 2,000 li. *Fu-yŭ*, in short must have been part of *Shing King*, or modern Manchuria, and the rivers mentioned the modern *Yu-luh* and tributaries.

The *Tsin Shu*, which treats of the period next subsequent to After *Han*, was not written, or at least edited, till the 7th century, though it treats, doubtless, of things as they were during the period 265-420. *Fu-yŭ* state is asserted therein to be very civilized, like China, and the king's seal is inscribed "King of *Wei* or *Hwei*" (穢), which looks as though an amalgamation of kindred tribes had since taken place. The story of consulting the hoof of a sacrificial ox before going into battle is repeated: if closed, lucky; if agape, unlucky. It adds: "When they go on missions, they wear embroidered rugs, and ornament their waists with gold and silver." The *Corean History* (三國史) says that *Chu-mêng* was a political refugee from *Fu-yŭ*, who took shelter in *Tsuh-p'eu Fu-yŭ* (卒本) and married the daughter of the king, whom he succeeded. His son by a first wife afterwards followed from North *Fu-yŭ* and became his heir: his two sons by the second wife migrated one to *Wei-li* (尉離) near modern *Sêul* and the other, his elder brother *Fuh-liu* (沸流), settled hard by at a place called *Mitsenhuh*, (彌瑟忽), and appears to have been absorbed by one of the neighbouring states soon after. The *T'ung Tieu* says that about A.D. 150 the *Sieu-pi* conqueror *T'an shih-hwai* (檀石槐) drove further back the *Fu-yŭ* people on the east. Now, the *Shi Ki* had already mentioned the *Wu-hwan* (烏桓), ancestors of the *Sieu-pi*, as being, with *Fu-yŭ*, to the north of some other state not named, and the *Peh Shi* and *Wei Chi* both distinctly tell us that the *Kao Keu-li*, and afterwards their offshoot the *Peh-tsi*, both emanated from old *Fu-yŭ*; so that we may take it for an accepted fact that the new *Fu-yŭ*'s existence as a state only

began from about B. C. 37, the date when *Tung-ming* fled south, and that it was, in future, identical with *Kao-K'eu-li*, or those of the *K'eu-li* Tunguses (句麗胡), who joined *Kao Chu-mêng* (高朱蒙) the first, or *Tung-ming*, king (東明王) of that state.

The remarks of the *Tsin Shu* do not weaken this clear genealogy: the *Tung-fan Ki-yao*, or Korean History, has no genealogy of *Fu-yü* kings, and tells exactly the same story of *Kao-K'eu-li*, and I cannot find any other allusion to old *Fu-yü* in Chinese records. The *Sui Shu* says that *Yang Ti* thundered at the gates of *Fu-yü*; but, if this is not mere poetry, it refers to south *Fu-yü* or *Hiakusai*. The *Peh Shih* mentions a petty state called *Shih-leu* (室婁) which appears to have been part of old *Fu-yü*, but the name of *Fu-yü* was entirely forgotten on the spot when the *Peh-Shih* was written.

South *Fu-yü* was a name given, after the old northern plain, four centuries later, to *Peh-tsi* or *Hiakusai*, and its old capital *Fu-yü* or *Pnyê* still exists as a Korean city.

CHAPTER II.

THE MANCHU TRIBES ON THE COREAN FRONTIER.

Yih-lou (挹婁), the ancient state of the *Suh-shén* (肅慎氏), was even a thousand *li* north-east of *Fu-yŭ*. East it was conterminous with the ocean; south it bordered on Northern *Wuh-tsŭ* (沃沮); its extreme northern limit was unknown. The country consisted chiefly of precipitous mountains. In appearance the inhabitants resembled those of *Fu-yŭ*, but the language of each was different. They had the five cereals, and hempen cloth. They produced red jade, and fine sables. They had not a supreme head, but every settlement had its chieftain (大人), residing amongst the hills and forests.²² The climate was exceedingly cold, and they always inhabited holes dug in the ground, depth marking high status in the occupant; great families having as many as nine connecting ladders. They were fond of breeding swine, eating their flesh and using their skins as clothes. In winter they all smeared themselves with swine fat, to a thickness of several lines (數分), so as to keep off the wind and cold, but in the summer they went naked, all but a foot of cloth covering before and behind. They were abominably stinking and dirty, and they lived round their privy, which was in the centre. From the early *Han* times and after, they had been subordinate to the rule of *Fu-yŭ*. Although the horde was not numerous, most of them were courageous and robust, and lived in inaccessible mountain places. They were excellent bowmen, and could

22. As seen, an extract from the *P'ei-wên Yŭn-fu* quotes this sentence from the *After Han Shu* in reference to *Fu-yŭ*, apparently by mistake.

make sure of hitting a man's eye. Their bows were four feet long, and as strong as a cross-bow. They used buckthorn (蓍) for their arrows, which were 1.8 feet long: the arrow heads were made of green stone (青石), and were all poisoned, causing instant death to those struck. They were handy boatmen, and fond of freebooting raids, so that the neighbouring states, while repelling their attacks, were never able to bring them under control. The *Fu-yü*, and other eastern barbarians like them, all used bowls and platters for eating and drinking, but the *Yih-lou* people alone had none of these, and their laws and customs were without system to the utmost degree.²³

The above is the extent of the information given by the *After Han Shu*.

The Manchus themselves recognize the *Yih-lou* as one of their kindred tribes, and their locality seems to have been part of modern *Kirin* and the present Russian province of *Primorsk*. The description given of them in the *After Han Shu* agrees with much of Mr. Batchelor's and Mr. Milne's accounts of the ancient Japanese cave-dwellers, whom the Ainos seem to have nearly exterminated. The *Kang Kien*, in introducing the *Kin* Tartars, makes the *Yih-lou* to be their ancestors, that the ancestors of the *Küchên* or *Yüchên* (女真) Tunguses, the immediate progenitors of the modern Manchus, and the lineal successors of the ancient *Suh-shên*.

Let us trace their genealogy, and first enquire who the *Suh-shên* were.

The preface to the *Shu King* says: When *Chou Ch'êng Wang* (B. C. 1115-1078) had punished the Eastern barbarians, the *Sih-shên* came to congratulate him. The commentator goes on to explain that the *Shi Ki*, in

23. The account of *Yih-lou* comes second in the *After Han Shu*, between *Fu-yü* and *Kao K'ou-li*. As will be seen, it neither has nor had anything to do with the Korean peninsula, either ethnologically or topographically. Its only connection therewith is the fact that after the breaking up of old *Chaosien*, the *Yih-lou* were officially considered as part of *Fu-yü*: they never entered the peninsula proper.

writing of that period, gives the name as *Sih-shên* (息慎). The *Kwoh Yŭ* explains that *Wu Wang* had already opened up the east, and that the *Suh-shên* had brought quivers of arrows superscribed "*Suh-shên* tribute," and says that Confucius once identified a *Suh-shên* arrow found in a hawk which fell dead near his house. The *Shang-lin Fu* (上林賦 by *Sz-ma Siang-ju*, mentioned in a work of the 6th century A. D.) speaks of the principality of *Ts'i* intriguing with the *Suh-shên*. The *Han-shên* speaks of the *Suh-shên* beyond the sea (海外) and says that then (A. D. 100) the *Yih-lou* occupied the old *Suh-shên* land, a thousand *li* north-east of *Fu-yŭ*, on the ocean. The *Wei Chŭ*, which was written before the *After Han Shu*, must have been, with the *Han Shu*, the source from which the *After Han Shu* drew. The *Tsin Shu* speaks of *Suh-shên* arrow tribute in A. D. 320, and the *Nan Shi* says that in A. D. 458, *Kao-Ken-li* brought some *Suh-shên* arrows and barbs; so that the name *Suh-shên* survived the *Yih-lou*, and was transferred to the new occupants said to occupy land east of *Liao Tung*,—the same old site.

The *T'ang Shu* says the Blackwater *Woh-hoh* had been called *Wuh-Kih* (勿吉) by the *Tobas*, and occupied the old *Yih-lou* site. Their arrows had stone barbs two inches long,—the ancient buckthorn and petrified resin (櫟). I have shewn in my paper on Early Japan that the *Moh-hoh* founded the *P'nh-hai* state in Manchuria, and the *T'ang Shu* tells us that the city of the King of *P'nh-hai* is on the *Hurkhan Plain* (忽汗海), 30 *li* south-west of the old *Suh-shên* capital. Finally, the *Shêng-wu Ki*, of the present generation, tells us that out of the eastern (東海) cognate tribes amalgamated or absorbed by the Manchus in 1618, and living on the *Khurka* River, which runs from *Ninguta* to the *Sungari*, was called *Khurka*, and that the *Khurka* tribe or land is the ancient *Hurkhan* above mentioned.

Having now traced the *Suh-shên* and *Yih-lou* to *Kirin* province, Manchuria, let us see what becomes of them.

The *Wei Shu* or History of the *Tobas*, composed during

the 6th century (not to be confused with the *Wei Chī*) is according to Mr. Wylie, a first-class work. It states that *Wuh-Kih* is north of *Kao-Keu-li*, and is the ancient *Suh-shên* state. In this country there is a large river three *li* broad called the *Suh-moh* (逮末). The land is low and damp. The people live in walled holes with an orifice at the top, going in and out by means of ladders. In the autumn of A. D. 518, the *Wuh-Kih* sent an envoy with tribute of iron and suddenly submitted, one horde after the other, at the (*Toba*, Tungusic North China) Emperor's travelling camp pitched at a place called *Yūan-tsz Kung* (源子恭, which I cannot identify). The *Peh Shī*, written a century later, says that the *Wuh Kih* state consists of seven tribes; one of them is called the *Suh-moh* (逮末) tribe, and borders on *Kau-li*; it has several thousand men-at-arms, is very warlike, and is perpetually harassing *Kau-li*.²⁴ One name for it is *Moh-hoh*.²⁵ The *Moh-hoh* have many swine, but no sheep. Each settlement has its own chief, and they do not unite together: they are very strong and fierce, and the most powerful among the Eastern Barbarians: only their language is quite different. Alongside of *Wuh-Kih* are the states of *Tamohlā*, *Feuchung*, *Mohtohwei*, and *K'uleu*. *Teumohlen* state is 1,000 *li* north of *Wuh-Kih*, and is the ancient Northern²⁶ *Fu-yū*: it goes eastwards from *Shih-leu*²⁷ to the sea, and is over 2,000 *li* in extent. The people are settled, and have houses and granaries: it is chiefly mountain and marsh. The state of *Shih-wei* is 1,000 *li* north of *Wuh-Kih*, distant 6,000 *li* from *Loh-yang*.

24. Note that about this time the name *Kau-li* (高麗) first comes in, having been corrupted from *Kao-Keu-li*, (高句麗)

25. As I have shewn elsewhere, *Wuh-Kih* and *Moh-hoh* are respectively pronounced *Mīt Ket* (English *Mut Kut*) and *Mot-hot* in Canton, where the best standard Chinese is spoken, and they both undoubtedly represent the same Tungusic word.

26. That is, the *Fu-yū* from which *Chu-mêng* fled when he went south to *Touh-pên Fu-yū*.

27. The following are the Chinese Characters for these names 大莫慮, 靺鞨, 莫多回, 庫婁, 豆莫婁, 室婁. I am inclined to think the last is a misprint for 室韌, a Mongolic *Sien-pi* tribe.

The first character is sometimes written 失: they are a kind of *Kitan*.

The *Kin Shī*, or *Nūchēn* History, the history of the tribes who succeeded, as a northern power, their northern Tungusic kinsmen the *Kitans*, says: During the *Toba* or *Yüan Wei*²⁸ there were seven tribes of the *Wuh-Kih*; to wit:—the *Sūh-moh* (粟末), the *Peh-tuh* (伯咄); the *An-ch'ê-Kuh* (安車骨); the *Fuh-nieh* (拂涅); the *Hao-shih* (號室), the Black Water, and the White Mountains.

The *Liao Shu* or *Kitan* History says *Liao Chou* was originally *Fuh-nieh* city. The founder of the *Trang* dynasty ordered his generals to carry the attack on *Kao-li* as far as *Sin Ch'êng*²⁹ (新城), which was taken: this was all in the *Fuh-nieh* territory.

Thus we advance a step further, and find that the *Muh-Kih* tribe occupy their old ground in Manchuria. *Suh-shên* and *Yu-chên*, *Mut Kut* and *Mot Khot* are clearly pairs; but why the *Suh-shên* become *Yih-lou* and then *Motkot*, and then back to *Fuchên*, is not clear. Still we have a parallel in *Chosen*, which split up into *Kokorai*, *Shinra*, &c.; then took the corrupted name of *Korai*, and finally went back to *Chosen*. The most ancient name seems to have a peculiar fascination, and there is reason to believe, on linguistic grounds, that the *Chukchis* of North Siberia, described by Nördenskjöld, are the same race as the *Fuchis*, the final *u* being perhaps merely a mark of the plural, or some such inflection.

In Great Britain, likewise, we have gone back to the ancient name. A few petty Schleswig-Holstein tribes, Angles and Saxons among them, crossed over to Britain, and thrust the British into the mountains. The Angles in the end gave the name to the new state, but the Celts still did and do call us Saxons or *Sassenach*. The result

28. I am disposed to think that the Mongols took the style *Yüan* (元) in imitation of the *Tobas*, who changed their new surname from 源 to 元 in A.D. 491.

29. I cannot identify this place, which cannot be the district of that name near modern Peking.

is that after union with Scotland the name of "England," a mere part of the whole united kingdom, is now officially tabooed, and we go back to the old name of Great Britain, just as modern *Chosen* or *Korai* now styles herself Great *Chaosien* (大朝鮮), and the Tunguses styled themselves 大契丹, 大金, and finally 大清,—Great *K'itan*, Great Golden, Great Sublime.

Let us now go on another step to the *Moh-hoh*. We have seen that the ancient *Suh-shén* and *Yih-lou* had red and green jade. We now find that the *Pen Ts'ao* says: *Sêh-sêh* is otherwise green pearl (碧珠), a precious stone: the green sort was called *sêh-sêh* by the *T'ang*, and the red sort *moh-hoh* by the *Sung*. The *T'ang Shu* says that red *moh-hoh*, as "large as chestnuts and as red as cherries, was sent to court "from *Ch'u Chou* (in China) in A.D. 764, and that in 780-5 "the Emperor sent to *K'hoten* for jade and got 100 lbs of "*sêh-sêh*." Thus we get both the green and the red pebble of the ancient Tunguses clearly connected with the word *Moh-hoh*, which may possibly mean simply "red."

The name first appears in the *Sui Shu*, which says that the *Moh-hoh*³⁰ sent tribute of local articles in the autumn of 582. They were to the north of *Kau-li*: their settlements have each a chief, and these do not form one body together. There are seven kinds, the fourth being the *Fuh-nieh* tribe, east of the *Peh-tuh*.

The *Kang K'ten* says that "in the year 742, one military "resident was stationed at *Ying Chou* (營州) to keep back "the *Shih-wei* and *Moh-hoh*, and that in 880, the Western "or *Sha-t'o* Turks, who afterwards founded the After *T'ang*

30. *Rémusat* thinks this word may be the same as *Mongol*, and that the "*Moho*" were a mixed Mongol-Tungusic race. I shall shew, however, when I come to treat of the *Sien-pi*, that the point of contact between the *Moho* Tunguses and the Mongols was the *Shih-wei* race, which, in fact, contained a petty sub-division called *Mungwa*, (蒙兀). *Mingku* 蒙骨 or 蒙古 is stated by M. Deveria (*China Review*, Vol. 7, p.282) to mean "silver" in their branch of the Tartar languages. This, it may be added, is just as *Aisin* and *Kin* mean "gold," and *Liao* and *t'ukkūch* mean "iron," in all three cases the metals being emblematic of the dynasty.

"dynasty, had to take refuge with the *T'ah-tau* (達韃) "tribe of *Moh-hoh* in the *Yiu Shan* (陰山)," a well-wooded range (formerly occupied by the Huns, and) extending from modern *Shan Si* to *Liao Tung*. Also that the less civilised or Blackwater *Moh-hoh*, also called unripe *Nüchêns*, who were not under *Kitau* influence, were far away to the north, whilst the more civilized Blackwaters, who had been tributary to the *Süh-moh* tribe of *Moh-hoh*, founders of *P'uh-hai* State, were, on the destruction of that state, taken under *Kitau* protection. The modern city of *K'ai Yüan* (開源, near Monkden) is said to be the ancient *Suh-shên* centre. Under the name of *Lung-Ch'üan Fu* (龍泉府), it was the Upper capital of the *P'uh-hai* (渤海); and under the name of *Hwei-ning Fu* (會寧), it was later on the upper capital of the *Nüchêns*. A tribe of *Moh-hoh* called *T'ah-tan* (鞑靼) occupied the *Shan Si* and of the *Yiu Shan*.³¹

The *T'ang Shu* says that the most noteworthy *Moh-hoh*, the *Süh-moh*, were the most southerly, reaching to the great White Mountains and *Kao-li* frontier, and living on the banks of the *Süh-moh*. A little north-east was the 伯咄 (evidently a misprint for³² 伯咄) tribe; then, again, the *Au-kü-kuh* (安居骨) tribe; more east the *Fuh-nieh* tribe: north-west of the (? *Au*)-*Kü-Kuh* on the Blackwater tribe: east of the *Süh-moh*, the white Mountain tribe, all at distances of from 200 to 500 *li* from each other. The Turkish General *Kipih Holih* (契苾何力) was left by the Chinese General *Li Tsih* (李勣 608-669) to hold *Sin Ch'êng* in *Kao-li*; but the *Kao-li*, 150,000 of whom were encamped on the *Liao* River, brought up several myriads of *Moh-hoh*, and took *Nau-su* city³³ (near modern *Hing King*). *Holih* attacked and routed them. Fourteen 州, districts, of which *Nau-su* was one, and nine 府, districts, surrendered.

Here we find the *Kao-li*, successors of *Fu-yü*, still on

31. This circumstance probably accounts for *Rimusat's* identifying them with the Mongols.

32. Possibly the modern *Pctimé* (伯都納).

33. *Nau-su* (南蘇) was one of the rivers in the extreme north of old *Chosen*. See the paper on *Early Japan*.

the old *Nan-su* River, above mentioned, and we have already seen that *Sin-ch'êng* was in *Fuh-nieh* or *Liao Tung*. In the account of Early Japanese History it has been shewn that Japanese spies were sent to the *Moh-hoh* land about A.D. 720; that *P'uh-hai* or *Botsukai* kept up relations with Japan from 732 to 918; and that the *Kitans* then turned it into a vassal state called *Tung-tan* (東丹), which the Japanese declined to recognise.

The *Wu Tai Shî* says that in A.D. 924 the Blackwaters sent an envoy to the After *T'ang* (Turkish dynasty). As the Turk's ancestors had, as above mentioned, taken refuge with the *Moh-hoh*, we may assume that this mission was to seek help against the *Kitans* as a return favour.

The *Kitan Kwoh-chî* (契丹國志) says that the *Hun-t'ung* (混同, the modern *Sungari* 松屯 and part of the Amur) is the former *Sûh-moh* River, the name of which was changed about A.D. 950 by the second *Kitan* Emperor; but the *Liao Shî* (遼史) says the 6th *Kitan* Emperor changed the Duck (鴨子) River to *Hun-t'ung*, and the *T'ah-lu* (撻魯) River to *Ch'ang-ch'un* (長春). The *Kin Shî* says the Black Dragon River (Amur) rises at 肇州始興縣, (which must be somewhere between *Urgá* and *Baro Koto*, unless the *Kalka* branch is meant,) 2,500 *li* north of *K'ai-yüan*, and that it flows south into the *Sungari* (松屯). The Complete *Liao* History says the *Sungari* is 1,000 *li* north-east of *K'ai-yüan*, and (meaning probably the *Khurka* branch) rises in the Ever White Mountains, runs north, passes the old *Nüchên* southern capital, joins the *Khuifa* (灰扒) River, and goes to *Hai-si* (海西) where it joins the *Hun-t'ung* (here evidently the Amur) and runs east into the sea. The *T'ang Shu* says the *Ma-tse* (馬碯) or *Ya-Lûh* (鴨綠) rises in the White Mountains of the *Moh-hoh*, and is called the Duck Green River on account of its colour. The *Moh-hoh* live along the *Sûh-moh* River which also rises on the west side of the mountains and runs north into the *T'oleu* (它漚? *Toro*) River. The *Kin Shî* says that in *Nüchên* land are the *Hun-t'ung* River and Ever White Mountains: the *Hun-t'ung* River is also called the

Black Dragon³⁴ River. The so-called White Mountains are in the Black water region (黑水之間).

Thus, whatever discrepancies there may be, it is plain that the head waters of the *Liao*, *Sungari*, and *Yalūh* Rivers had been and continued to be the habitat of one race.

A paper by M. Deveria in the spring number of the *Revue de l' Extrême Orient* for 1882 makes it perfectly clear that the word *Manchou* is a corruption of *Manchuh* (with a guttural final), the last syllable being the *Chuh* of the dissyllable *Chuh-shên*, or the territory administered by the rising modern *Manchus*; but what *Man* is intended for has not appeared as yet. *Chuh-shên*, in the old *Suh-shên*, and both the modern and the ancient words are probably decayed native and imperfect Chinese forms, respectively, of the original word used by the savages of remote times to designate themselves. The word *Suchên*, which, on account of the double modern force of the Chinese character 女, is usually pronounced *Nüchên*, is the same word, and, according to M. Deveria, means 海西, or "West of the Sea (or Plain?)" in the *Chorchî* or *Djurdji* tongue, a name which as we have shewn is used by the *Liao* or *Kitan* Tunguses in connection with the Upper *Sungari*. M. Deveria gives there pages of an inscription *En caractères inconnus*, taken from a slab in *Honan Fn.* These characters are undoubtedly the same as those which formed part of a Chinese polyglot vocabulary discovered by Dr. Hirth at Shanghai in 1887, and noticed

34. The Chinese, as in the case of the junction of the *Min* and the *Kin-sha* (*Yangtze*), seem to have considered the *Sungari* the chief head waters of what was called the *Amur* below the junction, probably in each case because the lesser branch was the more familiar to them, and the greater branch was comparatively unknown and "barbarous." The *Rin Shî* calls the *Sungari* the 松花 distinguishing it from the *Hun-t'ung*, and the Duck River, and says that the first ancestor lived with the *Wan-yen* tribe on the River *Puhwo* (僕何). The old *Kin* territory of *Hai Si* also contained the *Lin* (流河), *Wantulu* (完都魯), and *Anch'uku* (按出虎 or "golden") Rivers. The last is probably the same word as the *An Kūkuh* or *Anch'e Kuh* tribe.

in the May-June number of the *China Review* for 1888. In fact several of the specimen characters given in the notice are to be found in M. Deveria's inscription, which will be easily decipherable so soon as Dr. Hirth allows the public to share with him the knowledge at present lying buried in his book.

A further digression is now necessary on the subject of *P'uh-hai*. This was anciently the name given to the ancient and present embouchure of the Yellow River, which formed the northern boundary of *Ts'i*: and, according to the *Han Shu*, it was thence extended about B.C. 200, to mean a prefecture, and, still later several places within a radius of a hundred miles of it, up to which places the sea must have then reached. It then came to mean, if it did not originally mean, the Gulf of *Liao Tung*, into which the *Yellow* and *Liao* Rivers, both emptied themselves; and finally the name was transferred to the *Liao* region itself. Sometimes the Gulf of *Liao Tung* is specially distinguished as *P'uh-hiai* (溟), and both names were occasionally and are still extended to mean the whole China Sea down to Ningpo at least, for the capital of *Yüeh* is said by the poets to be on the *P'uh-hai*. The *K'woh-ti Ch'i* (括地志 mentioned in the *T'ang Shu* as having been compiled by order of *T'ai* (泰), Prince of 魏, whose date I do not know) says that *Hiakusai* state is in the *P'uh-hai* Sea.

The state of *P'uh-hai* must have been founded after the *Sui* armics had disintegrated *Kao-li*, for the *Sung Sh'i* refers in one passage to the year A.D. 654 of the *T'ang* dynasty, and says that, in that year, *P'uh-hai* sent an envoy with amber and cornelians. As the envoy to *Kao-li* reported in A.D. 640 that enormous numbers of Chinese had been left behind by the *Sui* generals, it is fair to assume that these Chinese helped to found the state of *P'uh-hai*. The *T'ang Shu* mentions a work in three volumes by *Chang Kien* (張建) upon *P'uh-hai*: probably he was an envoy thither during the 8th century. It goes on to say that the King's capital was in the *Huh-Kan* Sea, (i.e. the

Khurka valley of the upper Sungari), 30 *li* north of the old *Suh-shên* city. A book called the *T'ang Hwei Yao*, (唐會要), probably of equal antiquity with the *T'ang Shu*, says that, in the year A.D. 738, the state of *P'uh-hai* successfully applied for manuscript copies of the *T'ang Li*, *Sau Kwoh Chi*, *Tsin Shu*, and 36 *State Ch'un-ts'iu* (the history of the 36 mushroom Tartar, Tibetan and Tungusic dynasties of West China). Old traditions were evidently kept up, for we are told that what the *P'uh-hai* people valued most were *Fu-yü* deer, *Moh-Kih* (莫額 evidently the same as *Moh-hoh* and *Wuh-Kih*) swine, and *Shwêh-pin* (率賓)³⁵ horses. The *Liao Shih* says that between 920 and 925 the *Kitan* Emperor attacked *P'uh-hai*, conquered *Huh-han* city, captured king *Ta-yin-chuan* (大匿諫), turned the state into *Tung-tan* (東丹) and the capital into *T'ien-fuh* (天福), and ennobled the heir *Pei* (倍) as Prince of *Jên-hwang* (人皇王). Finally, a book called the *Hwa-yüan* (畫苑) says that the Prince of *Tung-tan* gave the surname of *Li* (李) to the celebrated deer painter *Li Tsan hwa* (李贊華).

The rest is mere modern history. The *Kitans* and *Nüchêns* were both of the same Tungusic race as the modern Manchus, as the Manchu duke himself discovered in the 16th century, and as, according to M. Deveria, the Emperor *Kienlung* officially declared. Each ruled in North China as the superiors, if not the suzerains, of the *Sung* or Southern Chinese dynasty,—the *Manzi* of Marco Polo—who paid tribute to them in turn until the Mongols amalgamated into one huge empire both Northern and Southern China. After another Chinese spell of 250 years under the *Ming*, our old friends reappear in the shape of Manchus, still with toxophilite propensities, and still loving the pig very much. As is well known, both *Kitans* and *Nuchêns* devised a script of their own: a complete vocabulary of the latter, in what is known as its "lesser branch," was discovered by Dr. Hirth in Shanghai in 1887, and has been noticed in the *China Review*, and

35. I cannot identify this word *Shwêh-pin*.

shewn to be the same in principle with the *chū nom* or bastard characters of Annam. Extensive written correspondence took place between the Huns and the Chinese court as far back as 150, or even 200 B.C., and we have seen that even the *Suh shên* had their quivers superscribed with written character. Doubtless this writing was in all cases Chinese, and the peculiarity of simply constructed Chinese *wên-lí* (such as that of the *Han Shu*) is that it may, with a few particles added, be translated almost literally into any language whatever. Some of the *Hun* letters are excellent specimens of robust diplomacy, and a great many of the *Hun* speeches evince a very acute intellect. Any way, the *Suh-shên*, *Yih-lou*, *Wuh-Kih*, *Moh-hoh*, *P'uh-hai*, *Kitans*, *Nüchén* and Manchus have stood their ground and remain on it notwithstanding 2,000 years of vicissitudes, and can certainly claim if not superior rank to, at last equal rank with, the Japanese as a nation with a fully developed language and history of its own. Chinese literature is so incontestably superior to any thing within range of it, that, notwithstanding the very numerous translations into Manchu, it is a very open question whether the Manchus have not done wisely in accepting the literary yoke of their conquered, and abandoning the attempt to compete with it.

CHAPTER III.

KAO-KEU-LI OR KOKORAI.

Kao-Keu-li was a thousand *li* east of *Liao Tung*: south it bordered on *Chao-sien* and *Wei-meh*, (濊貊) east on *Wuh-tsü*, (沃沮) north on *Fu-yü*: its land was 2000 *li* in extent, mostly high mountains and deep valleys, the disposition of which was utilised as best might be for human habitation. There was little agriculture or industrial employment, and consequently insufficient to support the population; therefore they were wont to be spare in eating and drinking, but they were fond of constructing palatial buildings. The Eastern Barbarians have a tradition that the *Kao-Keu-li*, were a different kind of *Fu-yü*, hence their language and laws were in the main alike, except that, in performing obeisance on their knees, they dragged one leg behind.³⁶ They always move on foot at a trot. There are five tribes of them in all; the *Siao Nu* (消奴), *T'sileh Nu* (緄奴), *Shun Nu* (順奴), *K'wan Nu* (灌奴), and *Kwei-leu* (桂婁) tribes.³⁷

The *Siao Nu* Tribe originally supplied a king, but, declining in power, was afterwards succeeded by the *Kweilou*. Among their functionaries there are *Siang* and *Kia* (相加), who had standards opposite their quarters; a master of ceremonies (古鄒大加), and another who managed the reception of state guests, the stores of cloth, and the introductions.³⁸

36. This seems to mean they knelt on one knee, as the English used to do in saluting the sovereign.

37. The commentator says that these correspond to the present (5th century) divisions of *Kao-li* (高麗); the Right or West, Posterior or North, Left or East, Anterior or South, and Yellow or Central Tribes.

38. The original of this sentence is nearly incomprehensible, but I think this translation as reasonable as Mr. Wylie's *Commissioner of Festivities who prescribes silk garments for ancestors!*

When *Wu Ti* destroyed *Chao-sien*, *Kao-Keu-li* was made into a district, and placed under *Hüen-t'u*, with special presents of musical instruments³⁹ and artisans or mechanics. Their habits were lewd,⁴⁰ but they all took pleasure in cleanliness. Of an evening and at night, the men and women assembled in dancing and singing groups. They were fond of sacrificing to the spiritual powers, the gods of the land, and the stars.⁴¹ They worshipped Heaven in the tenth⁴² moon, at a great assembly called the Eastern League.

In the east of their state there was a great cave called *Sui-shen* (隧神), to which they all went on a pilgrimage (迎而祭之), also in the 10th moon. On the occasions of public assembly, their clothes were all of embroidered silk, and gold and silver were used for personal adornment. The great *Kia* and the treasurer⁴³ both wore a headcloth like a hat-hood⁴⁴ without the after part. The small *Kia* wore a sort of warm bonnet⁴⁵ like a pointed cap in shape.

They have no prisons. Whenever there is crime, the various *kia* consider the case and then kill the offender, confiscating his wife and children as slaves. In marriages the man always goes to live at the woman's household, and

39. Mr. Wylie puts it; "Their men of talent were signalized by "drums and wind instruments," which suggest a very childish state of society (*Revue de l'extrême Orient*).

40. Mr. Wylie has it "their licentious customs were purified," query, by the drums?

41. The commentators argue very learnedly which particular star 零星 is, Mr. Wylie calls it the North Star, which hardly accounts for sacrificing to it in the south-east, as one commentator says was done.

42. This passage, and the division into tribes, is taken from the *Wei chi*: probably also much more. Therefore, as no dates are given, we may assume that the description all refers to the second century A.D. at the latest.

43. The 主簿 of this place would seem to be the same as the 主部, who kept the cloth, especially as he is again here coupled with the great *Kia*.

44. The 冠幘 was originally a woman's dress in China. In winter a soft pointed Red-Riding-Hood cap, covering the ears and neck, is still worn in Corea.

45. 折風

after the birth and full growth (長大) of a child, he thinks about returning and doing something towards a house. Amongst the things used at funerals were gold silver and articles of value in all possible profusion. After burial they piled up a mound of stones and planted firs and cypresses. The disposition of the people was fierce, impetuous, bold, strong, inured to fighting, and fond of plundering raids.

Wuh-tsi and East *Wei* both belonged to the *Keu-li*.⁴⁶

KEU-LI. The *Keu-li* were otherwise called *Meh* (緬). There was another branch living along the banks of the Small River and hence called "Small River *Meh*." They produced good bows, and the so-called *Meh* bows⁴⁷ are in fact theirs. When *Wang Mang* (the usurper, about B.C. 20) was raising troops in *Kao-li* to fight the Huns, the men were unwilling to go, and, being forced, took to flight beyond the barrier and began plundering raids. The prefect of *Liao Si*,⁴⁸ *T'ien T'an*, (田譚), went after them, and lost his life in the fight. *Mang* ordered his general *Yen Yu* (嚴尤) to punish them; he enticed the *Keu-li* Marquess *T'seu* (騫) within the barrier, and cut his head off, sending it to *Ch'ang-an*. *Wang Mang* was overjoyed, and changed the title of "*Kao-Keu-li* King" to *Hia-Keu-li* Marquess, whereon the *Meh* men raided on the frontier more frequently than ever.⁴⁹

46. Mr. Wylie, in his translation published in the *Revue de l'extrême Orient*, follows the After *Han Shu* in giving this account under a fresh paragraph; but it is evident that *Keu-li* and *Kao-Keu-li* are one and the same, or parts of one and the same place, for no description is given of *Keu-li* customs whilst no history is given of *Kao* or *Keu-li*'s successive vicissitudes, there being only one of each for the two names. This circumstance, doubtless, has something to do with the gradual fusion of the two names, which are identical, (高) 句麗 into one, 高麗.

47. In another place the After *Han Shu* speaks of the sandal bows of *Loh-lang*, and the infantry spears, 30 feet long, held by several men.

48. *Liao Si* contained under the *Han* a population of 72,554 households of 352,325 souls, in 14 districts, including the old *Peh-i* (伯夷) and the *Kuchuh* (孤竹) City, afterwards the capital of the *Mujung Sien-pi*.

49. *Wang Mang* was a mischievous and ignorant innovator. The *Kao* had nothing to do with its antithesis *Hia*, but was the adopted surname of *Chu-mêng*, as shewn above.

In the 8th year of *Kien-wu* (After *Han* founder, A.D. 32) *Kao-Keu-li* sent an envoy to court with tribute. *Kwang-wu* gave them back their King's title.

In the winter of the 23rd year *Tai-Shêng* (戴升) the great *Kia* of the *Keu-li T'an-chi* tribe, with his hordes (贊支落) of over 10,000 souls, came and gave in their adhesion as part of *Loh-lang*.

In the spring of the 25th year, the *Keu-li* raided *Yu-peh-p'ing*, (右北平), *Yu-yang* (漁陽) *Shang-Kuh* (上谷) and *T'ai-yüan* (太源),⁵⁰ but the prefect of *Liao Tung*, *T'si T'ung*, (祭彤), induced them by kind and fair treatment to come back and they all returned humbly to the barrier.⁵¹

After this *Kung* (宮), King of *Keu-li*, was born, and from the first moment opened his eyes and was able to see. The people of the state loved him. He grew up a brave and strong man, and several times trespassed over the frontier line.

In the spring of the first year of *Yüan-hing* (A.D. 105) in the Emperor *Ho Ti*'s reign, he again entered *Liao Tung* and made a freebooting raid upon six districts. The prefect *K'eng K'wei* (耿襲) attacked and routed him, beheading his chief general.

In the 5th year of *Yüan-ch'u* (A.D. 118) in *An Ti*'s reign,

50. All these places were on the line of the *Yin Shan* Range, the old habitat of the Huns. It has already been shewn that the *Moh-koh* were later found on the same line.

51. The commentator says that north of *Si-an P'ing* in *Liao Tung* there was a small river running south into the sea. The *Han Shu* says that *Liao Tung* contained 55,972 families of 272,539 souls, and eighteen districts: 1. 襄平, changed to 昌平; 2. 新昌 (afterwards 新城); 3. 無慮, or 醫巫閭, the seat of the West Tribe Assistant-Resident; 4. 望平, which (afterwards 長說) contained the Great *Liao* River entering the sea at 安市, after a course of 1250 li; 5. 房; 6. 候城, the Central Tribe Residency; 7. 遼隧, afterwards 順睦; 8. 遼陽, afterwards 遼陰, containing the great *梁* River; 9. 險濱 by some said to be *Wei Man*'s old capital; 10. 居就, containing the 室僞 tributary of the *梁*; 11. 高顯; 12. 安市; 13. 武次, the East Tribe Residency; 14. 平郭 with an iron and salt official; 15. 西 (afterwards 北) 安平; 16. 交 afterwards 交亭; 17. 番汗; 18. 查氏. For the divisions of *Loh-lang*, see the paper on Early Japanese history.

Kung sent an envoy to offer tribute, begging to be annexed to *Hüen-t'u*.

In the 5th year of *Yüan-ch'u* (A.D. 118), he again entered *Hüen-t'u* in company with the *Wei-meh*, attacking *Hwa-li* (district city of *Loh-lang*).⁵²

In the spring of the first year of *Kien-Kwang* (A.D. 121), the Head Prefect of *Yu Chou* (modern *Yung-p'ing Fu*), *Fêng Hwan*, (馮煥), the prefect of *Hüen-t'u*, *Yao Kwang* (姚光), and the prefect of *Liao Tung*, *Ts'ai Fêng*, (蔡颺), led troops beyond the barrier to chastise him, capturing and beheading the *Wei-meh* general, and taking possession of troops, horses, and valuable property. *Kung* then sent his heir *Sui-ch'êng*, (遂成), to lead over 2,000 men against the *Kwang* party, and sent an envoy to make pretence of surrendering. *Kwang* and his staff believed him. *Sui-ch'êng* then took up a position in the defiles, with a view to intercepting the main Chinese force, and secretly sent 3,000 men to attack *Hüen-t'u* and *Liao Tung*, setting fire to the city and suburbs, and killing or wounding over 1,000 men. On this over 3,000 horsemen were raised in the dependent states of *Kwang-yang* (廣陽, modern Peking), *Yü-yang*, *Yu-p'eh-p'ing*, and *Choh* prefecture (涿, modern *Pao-ting Fu*), to join in the rescue; but the *Mêh* men had already left.

In the summer, in company with over 8000 *Sien-pi*⁵³ of *Liao Tung*, they again attacked *Liao Sui*⁵⁴ (遼隸) killing and kidnapping officials and people. *Ts'ai Fêng*, &c pursued them, fighting, as far as *Sin-ch'ang*⁵⁵ (新昌), losing his life in the battle. The Office Board Resident *Kêng Hao*, (耿耗),

52. The *Loh-yang* districts and rivers have been given in the paper on Early Japan.

53. The *Sien-pi* (鮮卑) were a nomad Turko-Tungusic race, a branch of the *Wu hwan* (烏桓), who occupied a position West of *Kao-li* between the *Hsi* Huns and *Shih-wei* to the west and north and the *Kitan* (Manchu) race of hunting Tunguses to the east. Their history will be separately given.

54. So pronounced: see list of districts.

55. See list of districts. This was the *Sin-ch'êng* of later history, but it can hardly have been near Peking, as stated by Mr. Playfair.

the War Board Secretary *Lung Twan*, (龍端), and the Horse Guards⁵⁶ Secretary *Kung-sun P'u*, (公孫臯), came up gallantly to carry *Fêng* off the field, and all fell fighting. Over 100 lives were lost.

In the autumn *Kung* proceeded to lead several thousand *Ma Han*⁵⁷ (馬韓) and *Wei-mêh* horsemen to besiege *Hüan-t'u*. The King of *Fu-yü* sent his son *Wei-ch'en-t'ai* in command of over 20,000 men to join forces with the department troops: they attacked and routed *Kung*, cutting off over 500 heads. This year *Kung* died, and his son *Sui-ch'êng* succeeded. *Yao Kwang* submitted a letter to the Emperor, suggesting that advantage should be taken of the funeral ceremony to raise troops and punish *Kung*, and the council were all of opinion that this was desirable; but the President *Ch'en Chung* (陳忠) said: *Kung* has been a smart ruffian, whom *Kwang* has been unable to chastise; it is not handsome to strike at him in the grave: we should send and offer our condolences (to his son), then upbraid him for his past offences, respite the punishment due, and reap the benefit hereafter. *An Ti* followed this advice.

Next year *Sui-ch'êng* appeared before *Hüan-t'u* with the returned *Han* (Chinese) captives. A decree was sent down running: "*Sui-ch'êng* and his companions have been unspeakably ferocious and rebellious, and deserve to be drawn, quartered, and pickled as a warning to the people. Luckily he has come in for the general pardon, confessed his crime, and applied to surrender. As to the *Sien-pi* and *Wei-mêh*, for successive years they have made plundering raids, driving off captive the poor people by thousands at a time, and now they have only sent back several score or perhaps a hundred, conduct not evincing any real desire for civilising influence. From this time forward they must not fight with the government officers, but should become

56. 功曹, Board of office; 兵曹 Board of War. Mr. Wylie has misunderstood this passage. The 掾 were usually secondary military officers with civil functions.

57. The first mention of a South Korean state; the future *Pch-tsi*, *Hiakusai*, *Kudara*, or Southern *Fu-yü*. The Japanese *Ba Han*.

closely attached to them. The captives returned may all be ransomed at the rate of 40 pieces of stuff a head, with half that amount for children."

After *Sui Ch'êng's* death, his son *Tek-ku* (伯固) succeeded, and from that time the *Wei-mêh* submitted one after the other, and there was little trouble on the eastern confines.

In the first year of *Yang-kia* (A.D. 132) in *Shun Ti's* reign, six tribes of military settlers were organized in the *Hüen-t'u* prefecture.

During the reign of *Chih* and *Hwan* (A.D. 146-167), the same tribe again trespassed in *Si-an P'ing* of *Liao Tung* and killed the magistrates of *Tai-faug*⁵⁸ (帶方), besides effecting the capture of the *Loh-lang* prefect's wife and children.

In the second year of *Kien-uing* (A.D. 169), the prefect of *Huen-t'u*, *Kêng Lin* (耿臨) chastised them, cutting off several hundred heads, at which *Peh-Ku* gave in his submission and begged to be attached to *Hüen-t'u*.

* * * * *

The above is the second authentic account of that part of *Chao-sien* called *Kao-Ken-li* as taken from the *After Han Shu*.

As to the native traditions, the *San Kwoh Shī* (三國史) says that *Chu-mêng* of *Kao-Ken-li* took the kingdom of *Fuh-liu* (沸流, the modern *Ch'êng ch'uan* 成川, east of *P'ing-yang*) from the King *Sung jung* (松讓). There seems to be some confusion here, for as we have seen, *Fuh-lin* was the name of one of *Chu-mêng's* sons who settled at *Mitsuehuh* in *King-Ki* province. From what has preceded, however, it will be seen that *Kao-Ken-li* and *Fu-yü* were both divisions of old *Chao-sien*, which had for centuries been the prey of Chinese adventurers, and that the history of the former began with *Chu-mêng*.⁵⁹ The *Tung-fan Ki-yao* says that his surname was originally *Hiai*, (解), and that he was born in the *Keu-li* mountains of *Liao Tung*.

58. One of the *Loh-lang* or peninsular districts, at one time attached to *Liao Tung*.

59. Said to be a local word meaning good "archer."

Chu-mêng was succeeded by his son *Leili* (賴利), and his grandson *Wusūh* (無恤), the latter apparently the *T'seu* whom *Wang Mang* deprived of his kingly title. He was succeeded by the younger brother *Hiai Yih-chu* (解昌朱), presumably the one to whom *Kwang-un* returned his title. Then came *Hiai-Yu* (爰) who did the first raiding. *Kung* was grandson of *Wusūh*,⁶⁰ but it does not appear by which son.

Peh-Ku's successors were his sons *Nan-Wu* (男武) and *Yen-yu* (延優), and the latter's son *Kiao-chi* (郊豈) (227), which brings us to the epoch of the Three Empires.

The above particulars seem to have been taken by the Chinese Commission in Corea, authors of the book, from the *Wei Shu* or History of the *Toba Sien-pi* Chinese Emperors. There is one more extract from the *Wei Chī*, which says:—"In the settlements of this country men and women collect in groups by night, dancing and playing with each other. They have no large storehouses, but every family has a small granary called (稗京)."

I have not been able to find that any of the Three Empires, *Shuh*, *Wu*, and *Wei*, which succeeded the After *Han*, and preceded the *Tsin*, had any relations with the Korean states. During the *Tsin* dynasty the peninsula was lost to China, and the Wether Huns (羯) and *Mujung* (慕容) *Sien-pi*⁶¹ had north China entirely in their power, until the *Toba Sien-pi* subdued all their Tartar rivals, fixed themselves securely at the modern *Ta-t'ung Fu*, and shared the Chinese Empire on equal terms with *Tsin*. In A.D. 436 we find from the *Kang Kien* that *Fêng Hung* (馮弘) the last "Emperor" of *Yen*⁶² had to take refuge in the *Tungusic*

60. The posthumous name of *Wusūh* was 神武, or *Jimmu*, and, like the Japanese title, was probably imitated from their neighbours the *Toba Sien-pi*.

61. The "Empires" of *Chao* and *Yen* were amongst those previously mentioned as the "36 States."

62. The *Sien-pi* races would enjoy excellent facilities for gleaning items of Korean history, and it is probably from the same sources as their own that the After *Han Shu*, which appeared fifty years before the *Wei Shu*, derived its information.

(原胡) kingdom of *Kao-li*,—the very first mention of the new name,⁶³—which had been developing quietly at its capital *P'ing-jang*.

In the year A.D. 465 *Kao-li* sent an envoy to congratulate the new *Taba* Emperor *Hien-wên*. In the reign 504-8 a *Kao-li* envoy named *Yuisifu* (芮悉弗) had audience of the reigning *Toba* or *Yüan* (元), whose capital was now at *Loh-yang*. The envoy advanced and said: *Kao-li*, though distant, is and has been a loyal country, and fails not to send tribute of her local products. This exact statement is repeated in the *Peh Shī*, or History of the Northern *Sien-pi* empires, published two centuries later. The *Chou Shu*, or History of the last *Sien-pi* empire of *Yü-wen* (宇文), says of "*Kao-li*: there is a native capital (國內城), and also a "Chinese city (漢城), which is a separate metropolis (亦別都也)," from which it would appear that Chinese influence was still strong.

A poet *Chang Yü*,⁶⁴ already mentioned, and who probably lived during the 7th century, says that Buddhism was preached right away as far as *Kao-Keu-li*. As his commentator alludes to the *Peh Shī*, our next history in point of antiquity, we refer to our extracts from it and find that: "*Kao-Keu-li* believes in Buddhism, and worships the "spiritual powers (鬼神, as of yore): there are many "unorthodox shrines (淫祠) and there are two special divinities (神廟): one is called the *Fu-yü* divinity (神), a "woman carved out of wood; and the other is called the "*Kao Têng* (高登神) divinity, meaning that is the original "founder, son of the *Fu-yü* divinity. It has moreover an "official watcher, who sends men to look after it, for it is *Chu-mêng* the son of Neptune's daughter (河伯女朱蒙)." Another extract gives the name of the King who imprisoned

63. The commentator of 張雨's poems says the character 麗 was first substituted by the author of the *Peh Shī*.

64. Dr Eitel says that Buddhism spread to Corea in the year A.D. 372, but gives no authority for the statement. (Vide Three lectures on Buddhism). I suspect that *Hiakusai* or South Corea received the doctrine before *Kokoral*.

the said *Ho-peh Nū* as *Ch'ang* (常), and says that *Chu-mêng* means "good archer."⁶⁵

Turning now to the *Nan Shī*, which is by the same author as the *Peh Shī*, we find: "*Kao-Ken-li* is 1,000 li "east of *Liao Tung*, full of mountains and valleys, but "without watered plains: even the settled population has "no good bottom land." In enumerating the tribes 慎 is given in place of 頓, and 消 in place of 消.⁶⁶ Some *Suh-shīn* arrows and barbs were brought in A.D. 458, but the extract does not say to which Chinese court; it is probable that the southern court of *Tsin* was meant, for: "In the "9th year of *I-li* (A.D. 413) *Kao Lien* (高璉) king of *Kao-li* sent an officer (長史) named *Kao Yih* (高翼) to submit "a memorial and offer red and white horses. The *Tsin* "court made *Lien* Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief "of all the *Ying Chou* (營州) armies, and Generalissimo of "the Eastern Marches, (征東將軍), king of *Kao-li*,⁶⁷ and "Duke of *Loh-lang*." This interesting extract is confirmed by the *Tung-fan Ki-yao*, which says that king *K'ü-lien* (巨璉) that very year removed his capital from the Nine City Metropolis (九都城, evidently the mixed one above mentioned) to *P'ing-jang*. In the paper *Early Japan*, I have shewn that in A.D. 425 the king of Japan received almost exactly the same title, minus the word *Kao-li*, from the *Sung* dynasty, successors to *Tsin*, who only recognized him as king of Japan, and Pacificator or *Shōgun* (安東大

65. *Cho* is the root of the verb-adjective which means "good" in modern Corea, but the root of the word for "shoot" is *sso*. At this moment I cannot suggest any native Korean word for *mêng* or *mêng*, unless it be *mung* forming part of a word meaning "to curve or bend."

66. The *Wei Chī* also has 消, which is probably correct.

67. Mr. Aston makes a mistake in blaming the Japanese for using the word *Kao-li* too soon: as shewn above, it is proved to have originated in China, as a corrupted form of *Kao-Ken-li*, about A.D. 500. It is thus perfectly clear that the Japanese never had the remotest pretensions to suzerainty over the *Kao-li* so far described. Mr. Edkins (J.B. R.A.S. Vol. IX, Part 2,) says that the Japanese requested the *Sung* to discontinue the title of *Shōgun*, but that the Chinese continued to use the title in A.D. 444.

將軍) for all the peninsula, except *Kao-li*. Possibly this enterprising king of *Wo* may be the man who made a buccaneering raid on *Liao Si* during the *Tsin* dynasty, at the head of the *Ma-han*.

During the North and South (*Tsin* and *Toba Wei*) period, i. e. between the reigns of King *Kiao-chi* and King *Kū-lien*, there were eight *Kao-Keu-li* Kings, all in the course of regular lineal or cadet descent, and two of whose names ended with *fu* 弗, the final syllable of the envoy *Yuisifu*'s name. The *Nan Shih* says that *Kao-li* sent an envoy to the Emperor *Liang Wu Ti* (the successor of *Sung* at Nanking). According to the *Liang Shu* this was in A.D. 527. We now come to the *Sui* dynasty, the first for many centuries to hold all China. The *Peh Shih* says the first *Sui* Emperor in A.D. 597 fitted out an expedition against *Liao Tung*, and Admiral *Chou Lo-hou* (周羅喉) crossed from *Tung-lai* (Chefoo) to *P'ing-jang*; but most of his ships were wrecked in a storm, so he returned *re infecta*. When the second Emperor *Yang Ti* was visiting the Turkish Khan, *T'uh-li* (突利) in modern *Shan Si*, he met a *Kao-li* envoy in his tent, and was told by one of his officers (裴巨) that *Kao-li* had once been a province of China. In 606 he ordered the King to come to court: this was refused. A tremendous expedition was fitted out by sea and land, the River *Liao* was crossed, and the *Kao-li* capital, which, according to the *Kang Kien* was in *Liao Tung*, i. e. in the modern *Shing King* province (盛京), was invested in 611, but unsuccessfully. This could not have been *P'ing-jang*, for a few months afterwards the Chinese general *Yü-wên Shuh* (宇文述, evidently a *Sienpi*), suffered a crushing defeat at the River ⁶⁸

68. I do not see what river this can be but the *Ts'ing-ch'uan* River, (清川), and not our old acquaintance the *P'a* or *P'ai* (溱), which must be the *Ta-t'ung* River. This is proved by another extract from the *Sui Shu*, which says that *Kao-li* is 2,000 *li* east and west and 1,000 *li* north and south: its capital is *P'ing-yang*, also called *Ch'ang-an* (長安, in imitation of the metropolis of China), which extends six *li* east and west, and follows the curve of the hills with the River *P'ai* (溱). *Yang Ti*'s generals were to "meet at the River *P'ai*," in fact precisely imitate the strategy of the *Han* generals, who took the same sea and land routes.

Sah (薩), which is stated to be east of the *Yalūh* River, and west of *P'ing-jang*, 560 *li* north-east of the old residency (遼東都司城); all the stores were lost, and of a host of 305,000 only 27,000 re-crossed the *Liao*. The *Sui Shu* "adds: The *Kao-li* general *Ichiwéntêh* (乚支文德) cut off " *Yang Ti's* baggage train. *Yü Chung-wên* (于仲文) defeated him, and *Ichiwéntêh* presented him with a poetical "eulogium."

After King *K'ü-lien* there reigned seven Kings, in regular descent, down to the unfortunate *Kien-wu* (建武), who was half brother only, on the paternal side, of his predecessor. Apparently in connection with this irregularity, the usurper or king, makes *Hoh Kin* (蓋金), otherwise *Hoh Su-wên*, (蓋蘇文) murder the King, and set up *Tsang* (譚), the King's nephew, in his place. This was in the year A.D. 637.

Hoh Su-wên seems to have been a man of remarkable ability and personal presence: the *T'ang Shu* says that he took to himself the title of *Moh-li-chi*⁶⁹ (莫離支), which is as who should say in China "Minister of War and Premier." I cannot identify this Korean word. His attire was of a most splendid description, and his influence so great that his own soldiers hardly dared to look up into his face. What became of him is not stated, at least so far as I have been able to find out; but the *T'ang Shu* says that there is an inscription at a place called 駐蹕山 "where the Emperor stopped," recounting the incidents in the war; and Newchwang missionaries or ardent students should endeavour to find its whereabouts. There were distinguished Koreans about now in the Chinese military employ. Thus *Kao Sien-chi* (高先芝), and his father before him, were both in high employ in Western Asia, the former being celebrated in addition for his expedition to *Balti* (李律) in western Tibet, the exploit of carrying his flying column over the *Karakorum* pass. It seems too that *Han*

69. The first syllable must be *mon*, the modern Korean pronunciation of 武, and the after syllables may be 理使. See *Corean Military*, in *Chinese Recorder*, 1886.

P'u,⁷⁰ (函普) the progenitor of the *Nüchên* dynasty, was a *Kao-li* immigrant by origin, so that the Manchus owe something to Corea. The *T'ang Shu* says that *Kao-li* sent two royal girls to the Emperor *Ming Hwang* (A.D. 713-756), but that he returned them with the remark that it was unbecoming for the King's relatives to marry in a strange land. An undated imperial mandate presents the *Kao-li* tribute graduates (王彬 and ⁷¹崔罕) with a decree, and dismisses them home after a residence of ten years in China. A poem by *Kao K'i* (高啓 date unknown) to the *Kao-li* envoy speaks of cotton garments and "pearl streamers" in connection with his delivery of tribute.

The next step carries us to the great Chinese *T'ang* dynasty, (A.D. 600-900) which, with the *Han* (B.C. 200—A.D. 200) and *Ming* (A.D. 1360-1630) are the only Chinese dynasties which have ever really permanently held all China; in other words, 1000 years of the Chinese 2,000 years really trustworthy history is the history of Tartar domination.

The *T'ang Shu* still keeps up the tribal division, but says the *Inner* (not central) or yellow tribe is precisely the *Han Kwei-lou* (漢桂婁), which suggests that the ancient *Kwei-lou* tribe had been reinforced by Chinese blood. One of the seven military roads "to the barbarians" was the Eastern Road (安東路) leading by way of *Ying Chou* (營州). This explains the appointment of the King as viceroy at *Ying Chou*, as above mentioned. A full account of the Chinese conquest of *Kao-li* is to be found on pages 278-280 of the *China Review* for 1886-7. As before, the expedition was in two columns, *via* modern Chefoo and Newchang respectively, and was ostensibly sent to assist *Sin-lo* or *Shinra* (新羅) against *Kao-li* and *Peh-tsi*, the last named being under Japanese influence. The armies met near modern

70. M. Deveria says that *Akutêng*, or *Agouta* as he calls him, the founder of the *Nüchên* power was the descendant of a *Sin-lo* or *Shinra* man.

71. 崔, *Ts'ui*, is still one of the commonest Korean surnames pronounced *Ch'ui* in Korean.

Newchwang; the chief city of *Liao Tung*, (apparently modern *Kin-chou Fn*) was taken; and the Koreans under the Marshal⁷² *Yen Shou* (延壽) were defeated at a great battle near⁷³ *An-shī* or *An Chou* (安市 or 州). The war was not decisive; other campaigns followed, and finally both *Fu-yū* the capital of *Peh-tsi*, (half way between modern *Sēul* and *Fusan*), and *P'ing-yang* the capital of *Kao-li* were taken, the latter together with King *Tsang*. *Peh-tsi* seems to have been handed over to *Shinra* the King of which now became the Chinese viceroy of *Kilin* (雞林), and *Kao-li*, with its population of 690,000 households, was divided into five tribes of 176 cities, under a resident Chinese military governor. All the above is from the *Kang Kien*. The *San Kwōh Shī*, (三國史, a Korean work), says that in the year 670 the Chinese re-enseffed a King of *Kau-Kin-li* at a place called *Kin-ma* (金馬) in *Ts'ün-lo* province. Four years later the state took the name of *Pao-tch* (報德), but it has no history. *Kao-li* seems to have made some progress in art and manufactures. The *Hwa-ki*⁷⁴ (畫記) mentions very graceful willow-leaf fans made in *Kao-li*, with such curious graining that the poets of the day were much exercised to account for the material. The *Tu Yang Pien*⁷⁵ speaks of wonderful cushions or mattresses made of the hair of a beast called 却塵. The *T'ang Shu* also mentions excellent guitars (瑟), with a shell or frame (槽) of snake skin and beech (楸), with ivory keys (捍撥), and having the King's portrait painted upon it. The performers are called 伎, and are doubtless the descendants of Mr. Wylie's ancient "men of talent (伎) who were signalled with wind instrument," or, rather, of the Chinese musicians introduced for their benefit.

72. The word *neu-sak* (曷薩) is probably an attempt to pronounce the Korean form, *Ö-sä*, of the Chinese word *yūshī* (御史), which in Korean still means "Imperial or Royal Commissioner Extraordinary."

73. This seems to be the site of the ancient *Han* fighting on the River *Sak*, which, according to the *Tung-fan Ki-yao*, is the *Ts'ing-ch'uan*, as already suggested.

74. By 鄒櫓. It reviews art during the period 1074-1167.

75. Apparently the same as the *Tu-yang Tsah-pien*.

If reference be made to my paper on Early Japan, it will be found that, during the Chinese occupation of Corea, the Japanese relations with the peninsula suddenly stop, and those with *Bolsukai* commence instead: it may be presumed then that Corea's fall was *Bolsukai's* rise, and that the latter probably divided some of the Korean carcass with China. Next comes the *Wu Tai Shih*, which treats of the anarchical period between the *T'ang* and *Sung* dynasties. The *Chou*⁷⁶ dynasty (A.D. 951-960) sent one *Tai Kiao* (戴交) on a mission to *Kao-li*. It must be remembered, however, that from A.D. 668 to A.D. 918, a period of 250 years, the existence of *Kao-li* as an independent state had absolutely ceased, as also that of *Shinra*, including *Hiak-sai*. Before, therefore, going into the history of the new *Kao-li*,⁷⁷ whose capital was at the modern *K'ai-ch'êng* (開城), which for the first time extended native rule over the whole peninsula on *Wang Kien's* proclaiming himself King in A.D. 918, and which for the first time *itself* adopted the official style of *Kao-li*, we must examine the early history of the southern Korean states.

76. *Kwoh Wei* (郭威) founder of the After *Chou* dynasty, had been premier to the *Sha-t'o* Turk *Liu Ch'iyün* (劉知遠) of the last of the *Han* dynasties: he removed his capital to *Fang Chou* (房州).

77. The *P'ri-wên Yün-fu* gives the following Korean words from a work on *Kilin* (雞林類事). "Come is *niaolo* 鳥囉; go is *nih ka jih lo* " (匠家入囉; let the guest come is *sun niaolo* 孫鳥囉)." In modern Korean come is *onera*; you go is *nê Kakira*; and a guest is *son*, or, politely, *son-nim*. Here we have absolute proof of words unchanged during 1,000 years.

CHAPTER IV.

DIVISION I. NORTH-EAST COREA ON THE PACIFIC.

Eastern *Wuh-tsū* was east of the great *Kai-ma* (蓋馬) range of *Kao-Keu-li* (which were west of the later *P'ing-jang*). Its east lay on the ocean, its north adjoined the *Yih-lou* and *Fu-yū*, and its south the *Wei-mēh*. Its territory was narrow from east to west, and long from north to south with an average extent of about one thousand⁷⁸ *li* each way. The land is fertile and pleasing, with the hills behind and the sea in front, suited to the five cereals, and good for cultivation of paddy-fields. There were settlements with chieftains. The character of the people was simple, direct, strong, and bold, handy with their spears, and used to fighting on foot. Their language, dress, and manner of living and eating contained much that resembled *Kao-Keu-li*. For burials they used a great wooden shell, over a hundred feet long, with an opening at one end as door. The newly deceased were first temporarily buried in this to make their skin and bones disappear, after which they took the bones and put them in the shell. All the members of a family had one common shell. They carved wood like memorial tablets (主) according to the number of dead there were.

When *Wu Ti* put an end to *Chaosien*, he turned the *Wuh-tsū* land into the (head-quarters of the) *Hien-t'u*

78. Mr. Wylie's "it may have contained about 1,000 square *li*" would only make it three miles broad by 100 long, whereas it must have been at least 30 miles broad if at all near the dividing range, and the word "west" of a commentator's note must be a mistake. *Wuh-tsū* was the modern *Ham-kyŕng* province, occupied by the various old Manchu tribes and the Mongols successively. See *Chinese Recorder*, December, 1885.

prefecture; but when afterwards the wild *Mih* (夷貊) encroached upon it, the prefectural residence was moved to the north-west of *Kao-Ken-li*, and *Wuh-tsü* was turned into a district instead, subordinate to the *Luh-lang* Protector of the eastern tribe. But when *Kwang-wu* (a century or more later) abolished the protectors (都尉官), the native chiefs were from that time always dubbed Marquesses of *Wuh-tsü*. Their country being contracted, and dove-tailed in between the greater states, it then became vassal to *Kao-Ken-li* which re-appointed its own high officers to the country and then made its resident envoys do the double duty, seeing that the taxes in sables cloth, fish, salt, and marine edibles were duly paid, and drafting their handsome girls for handmaids.

Besides this there was north *Wuh-tsü*, otherwise called *Chü-ken-leu* (疊溝婁), distant from south *Wuh-tsü* over 800 *li*: its customs were all the same as those of the southern. Its south border joined on the *Yih-lou*, who were fond of making piratical raids in boats. The north *Wuh-tsü* used to dread these so much that every summer they were wont to hide in the precipitous caves until winter, when navigation was impossible, on which they came down to occupy their settlements.

Their old men used to say that once they found a cloth garment in the sea, shaped like a Chinaman's (中人) clothes, but the two sleeves were 30 feet long. Also that they had seen a man on the shore, inside a broken boat with a second face in the middle of his forehead or crown. He was unable to understand what was said, and died of starvation.

They also said that in the sea there was a Woman⁷⁹ State without males. There was a tradition that in that state there were supernatural beings who had connection with them (閼之) and in consequence children were born.

A commentator's note adds that, according to the *Wei Chi*, these particulars were gleaned by an officer named

79. This probably refers to some of the petty *Wo* or Japanese states. See the paper on *Early Japan*.

Wung Hin (王頎) who had been sent by *Wu-k'iu-kien* (毋丘儉) in pursuit of King *Kung* of *Keu-li*, whom he hunted to the extreme east of *Woh-tsu*. This man must have been one of the generals under *P'eng Wu* (彭吳) who was the very first to penetrate into the peninsula with a Chinese Imperial army.

* * * * *

Wuh-tsu has no special history: like *Wei* and *Keu-li* it had been part of old *Chaosien*, and soon lost in *Keu-li* any slight special individuality it may have had. The *Han Shu* says: From the great *Tan-tan* (單單) range east to the *Wuh-tsu* and *Wei-Meh* all was included in the *Loh-lang* prefecture. The *Wei Chī* adds: West of the great *Tan-tan* range belonged to *Loh lang*, east of it were seven cities and military posts, whose population consisted of the *Wei*. Plainly, therefore, *Loh-lang* proper was the modern *P'ing-an* province, which, indeed, was in *Corea* once called *Kwan-Si* (關西) or "West of the Mountains."

CHAPTER IV.

DIVISION II. EAST COREA ON THE PACIFIC.

Wei bordered north on *Kao-Keu-li* and *Wuh-tsü*; south on *Ch'ên Han* (辰韓); extending east right away to the sea, and west to *Loh-lang*. *Wei*, *Wuh-tsü* and *Keu-li* were originally all *Chaosien* territory. Anciently *Wu Wang* (B.C. 1122) enfeoffed *Ki-tsz* (箕子) in *Chaosien*; and *Ki-tsz* taught the people forms, justice, tillage, and sericulture: he also established the eight simple laws (life for life, amercement in grain for wounds, for robbery enslaving of the robber and his family, with permission to ransom for 500,000 (? cash); the rest of the eight are not known).

These people never robbed each other, and the closing of doors and shutters was unknown. The women were chaste and true. For eating and drinking they used dishes and platters.

Forty generations or more lived after this until the *Chaosien* Marquess *Chun* 準 called himself King.

During the general anarchy which ushered in the *Han* dynasty (B.C. 200) several myriad refugees from *Yen*, *Ts'i* and *Chao*⁸⁰ went there, and the *Yen* man *Wei Man* attacked and crushed *Chun*, setting himself up as King of *Chaosien*. He transmitted the state down to his grandson *Yü-K'ü*. In the 1st year of *Yüan-shoh* (B.C. 128), *Nan-lü*⁸¹ (南闔) Prince of *Wei* and others rebelled against *Yu-K'ü*, and led their horde of 280,000 souls to *Liao-Tung*

80. I. e. the North-east China duchies.

81. Thus *Ts'ang-hai* or *Kang-wên* province (江原) is at once the most ancient and shortest lived Chinese prefecture in the peninsula, and also the farthest from China. According to the *Han Shu*, *Nan-lü* rebelled in B.C. 128. Compare Part I, Note 3.

to become part of the Empire. *Wu Ti* turned their land into *Ts'ang-hai* prefecture, but abolished this several years later. So on until the 3rd year, when *Chao-sien* was destroyed and divided into the four prefectures of *Loh-lang*, *Lin-t'nn*, *Hüen-t'u*, and *Chên-fan*, which continued until the first year of *Shi-yüan* in *Chao Ti's* time (B.C. 86), when *Lin-t'un* and *Chên-fan*⁸² were abolished, and amalgamated with *Loh-lang* and *Hüen-t'u*, the *Hüen-t'u* residence being removed to *Keu-li*. From the great *Tan* (單) range eastwards all, including *Wuh-tsü* and *Wei-mêh*, belonged to *Loh-lang*. Afterwards, on account of the extent and distance of its territory, the seven districts east of the mountain-chain were turned into the *Loh-lang* "Eastern Tribes" Protectorate. From its joining the Empire and ever afterwards the customs somewhat degenerated, and preventive laws gradually increased, until there were sixty clauses.

In the 6th year of *Kien-wu* (A.D. 30) the Protector was abolished, and the territory east of the range was accordingly abandoned: the native chiefs were dubbed district Marquesses, and had always to present their annual congratulations at court.

They had no supreme Lord. Of officials they had three, the Marquess, the Earl (侯), and the Baron (君). The old men used to say that they belonged to the same race as the *Keu-li*, their language laws and customs being much the same. The people were simple and honest, having few desires, and never begging. Men and women both wore a frilled (曲) collar. They were accustomed to venerate the mountains and streams, each of which was a tribal dividing mark, which might not be wantonly transgressed. Those of like surname did not intermarry, and they had a great many other scruples. They used to abandon their old house when any sick or dead persons were in it, and build a new one to live in. They understood the cultivation of hemp, the rearing of silkworms, and the

82. *Chên-fan* seems to have been part of *Liao-Tung*, but I cannot find where *Liu-t'un* was.

making of cloth fabrics.²³ They knew how to observe the stars, and could prophecy the abundance or scarcity of the year. They always sacrificed to Heaven in the tenth moon, when they drank wine, sang, and danced night and day: this was called "dancing to Heaven." They also sacrificed to the tiger, which they considered a spiritual power.

If any settlement trespassed upon another, they proceeded to impose a fine of men or women (生口) oxen, or horses: this was called "amercement of evil."

Homicides had to give life for life. There was little raiding or robbery. They could fight well a-foot, and made spears thirty feet long, which sometimes several men would join in holding. The "sandal bows of *Loh-lang*" came from their land.

There were also many spotted leopards, and tiny horses (果下馬). Their seas produced the *tsung* fish (從) and their envoys always offered some when they came.²⁴

* * * * *

Thus far the After *Han Shu*: in other places in the *Han Shu* the word *Mêh* is written 貉. We have already been told that *Ken-li* was also called *Mêh*, and the After *Han Shu* makes no special mention of *Mêh*, which was the northern half of modern *Kiang-yüan* province with capital at the modern *Ch'un-ch'uan* (春川), so we may assume that, when *Nan-lü* rebelled, he carried *Mêh* with him, as *Wei* was the southern half, with capital at the modern *Kiang-ling* (江陵). It has been shewn, too, the *Wei Ch'i* says, the population east of the *Tan* or *Tantan* Range was of *Wei* race. Under the head of *Fu-yü* we have already seen that the *Wei* originally came from *Liao Tung*, and, when they surrendered under *Nan-lü*, they only returned to their old homes, where, as we have seen, the King, two centuries later, still styled himself *Wei* King. Indeed, they could never have entirely left *Liao Tung*, for the *Han*

83. 綿布: this could not have been the *gossypium* or "cotton," which was yet unknown in China.

84. Mr. Wylie has misapprehended this and one or two other unimportant passages.

Shu tells us that the *Sien-pi* Tunguses extended eastwards to *Liao Tung* "as far as *Fu-yü* and the *Wei-Mêh*."

Wei-Mêh has no independent history. But, during the eighth century, when it belonged to *Shinra*, one of the *Shinra* princes, competitor for the *Shinra* throne, was enfeoffed at *Ming Chou* (溟州), which is the old *Wei* capital near the coast, the modern *Kiang-ling*; and he seems to have reigned there in semi-independency with the title of 溟州郡王, or *Fürst*.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION I. SOUTHERN COREA.

There were three *Han* (韓) races, the *Ma* (馬) *Han*, the *Ch'ên* (辰) *Han*, and the *Pien Ch'ên* (辨辰). *Ma-han* was to the west and consisted of 54 states: it bordered north on *Loh-lang*, and south on *Wo* (倭). *Ch'ên-han* was to the east, and consisted⁸⁵ of 12 states: it bordered north on the *Wei-mêh*. *Pien-Ch'ên* was south of *Ch'ên-han*, and also consisted of 12 states, and like it, too, bordered south on *Wo*. There were thus 78 states in all, of which *Peh-tsi* (伯濟) was one. The largest had 10,000 households or more, the smaller several thousand⁸⁶ families, each between the mountains and the sea. The land had a total extent of over 4,000 *li* each way, bounded east and west by the sea, and was all contained in the ancient *Ch'ên* State. *Ma Han* being the largest, they joined in setting up the King of *Ch'ên* from that race: his capital was in *Muh-chi*⁸⁷ (目支) State, whence he ruled as king the whole land of the Three *Han*. The kings of all three countries were at first men of the *Ma-han* race. The *Ma-han* people understood tillage, sericulture, and the making of cloth fabric (綿布). They produced chestnuts as large as pears. There were long-tailed fowls with tails five feet long. They lived in

85. The *Wei Chî* says it originally consisted of six states, afterwards made into twelve. Some editions have copied the words 亦十二 as 六十二, thus giving *Pien-ch'ên* 62; but the total of 78 disproves this.

86. This, again, is copied from the *Wei Chî*, which says there were 100,000 households in all.

87. The *Wei Chî* enumerates the following *Mahan* States: 月支, which is the correct form, and is elsewhere written 一之; 日磾; 爰婁; 牟水; 桑外; 再路; and 不零: 目支 is a mistake.

mixed settlements and had no cities.⁸⁸ They built their houses of mud, in shape like a grave-mound, with an opening or door at the top. They were not acquainted with the kneeling form of obeisance,⁸⁹ and drew no distinctions of age or sex. They did not value gold, jewels, embroidery or rugs, were ignorant of the way to ride oxen or horses, and only esteemed pebbles⁹⁰ and pearls as ornaments for setting off their garments, and as necklaces and ear-drops. The majority had no head-covering beyond their coiled chignons. Cloth robes and straw sandals. The people were robust and brave, and the young men when exerting themselves to build a house, would take a rope and run it through the skin of the back, and trail a huge log by it, amid cheers for their sturdiness. After the cultivation was finished in the fifth moon, they always worshipped the spiritual powers, and had a drinking bout day and night, assembling in groups to dance and sing, when several dozen men would follow each other in keeping time by stamping on the ground. In the tenth moon when the agricultural operations were finished, the same thing was repeated, and each of the states or communities had one man called "Heaven Prince" to manage the worship of of Heaven and the spirits. They also established a *su-t'u*, (蘇塗, explained to mean an *Alsatin* or sanctuary for offenders), where they erected a pole, on which a bell and drum were hung for the worship of the spiritual powers.

Their southern boundary being near *Wo*, there were also some who tattooed their bodies.

88. The *Wei Chi* agrees; with the important addition that they were scattered over the islands and seas, but settled (土著) in habit (i.e. not nomads).

89. The *Tsin Shu* adds that they had no manners or refinement.

90. The *Tsin Shu* substitutes 璣 "tassels" for 璣 "pebbles." The remark of the After *Han Shu* about embroidery, gold, and rugs evidently has something to do with the statement, already quoted, of the *Tsin Shu* that the *Pu-yü* envoys bedizened themselves with gold, silver, and wore embroidery and rugs.

The old men of *Ch'en Han* used to say that they were *Ts'in* (秦) refugees who had come to the *Han* states in order to escape the misery of forced labour, and that *Ma Han* cut off the eastern portion of their land for them.⁹¹

They called "state" (國) "province" (郡), and "horse" *hu* (弧). "Robbers" they called "raiders" (寇), and "passing wine" "passing" on" (行解) "Parting" they call *si*⁹² (徙); in many cases too there is likeness to the dialect of North-West China (秦語). For this reason some have called them *Ts'in Han* (韓).

They have stockaded city-like enclosures and houses, and each petty community has its separate chieftain, the greatest is called 臣智; the next 倭側; the next 樊抵; the next 殺奚; the next 呂借.⁹³

The land is fat and fair, and suited to the five cereals: they understand mulberry and sericulture, and the making of cloth fabric (織布); they use oxen and horses in riding

91. This is taken from the *Wei Chī*.

92. This extract from the *After Han Shu* quoted in the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* gives 邦 instead of 郡, 弓 instead of 鳥, 觴 instead of 解, 呼 instead of 別, and 徒 instead of 徙.

There is nothing in either Japanese or Korean in the remotest degree corresponding to these words. The whole of the sentence simply points to a provincial way of talking Chinese, such as *K'ang-hi*'s dictionary often says is even now the case in *Ts'in* or North China. The writer evidently meant: "where we say 'state' they say 'province;' where we say 'bow' they say 'arc;' where we say 'thief' they say 'lifter,' and so on."

K'ang-hi repeats the erroneous statement of the *After Han Shu* that "horse" was called *hu*.

Mr. Wylie's copy seems to have had it 行觴, "passing the goblet," which is correct. The whole sentence is a faulty copy from the *Wei Chī*, which says that in their language a "state" was *pang* (邦), a "bow" was called *hu*, &c. &c.

93. 相別爲徒 Mr. Wylie has "calling each other they said 'disciple'"—evidently, both a misreading and a misapprehension. *T'u* would be 徒, not 徒.

94. 乘駕牛馬 must mean this, or contradict the previous 不知騎乘牛馬.

in carts:⁹⁵ they have proper forms in marriages: they make way for each other in the road.

The country produces iron, and the *Wei*, *Wo*, and *Ma-han* all go to buy it: for all purposes of barter the sole money-exchange is iron.

They were very fond of singing, dancing, drinking wine, drumming and thrumming. When a son was born they liked to flatten⁹⁶ his head and always pressed it with stones.

* * * * *

The *Pien-ch'ên* lived promiscuously with the *Ch'ên-han*, and their cities and clothes were similar, but their language⁹⁷ and customs differed in some respects. The persons of all the people were tall, with handsome hair. Their clothes were clean, and their punishments very severe.⁹⁸ Their state is near the *Wo* and therefore there are also some who tattoo.

Now when *Chun*, king of *Chaosien*, was broken by *Wei Man*, he led the remainder of his horde, several thousand men, by sea to attack the *Ma-han*, and routed them, setting himself up as king of *Han*. Afterwards *Chun* and his

95. This sentence is also faultily copied from the *Wei Chî*, which runs: *Pien-ch'ên* also has 12 states: moreover, there are all the petty communities besides, each with a chief of its own: the greatest is called 臣智; the next 險側; the next 樊藏. It is useless to speculate what these words may mean until we know what the words really are. The word 概 is evidently a misprint for 穢, and the then popular "grass-hand" form of each is very similar: it was to obviate confusion that future emperors forbade the use of "grass-hand" in proper-names. I do not give the sounds for the same reason that we are not certain of the characters.

96. I have elsewhere called attention to Dr. Macgowan's remarks on this custom.

97. The *Wei Chî* says the language of *Ch'ên Han* was different from that of *Ma Han*, which is probably correct, as the fact that the one had cities, and the other none, points to a fundamental difference in race.

98. These last two sentences apply forcibly to the modern Koreans, and are copied from the *Wei Chî* on *Tuklu* State (濊盧), which is said to consist of 12 communities, each with a king, and to border on *Wo*.

kin were exterminated, and a *Ma-han* man again set up as king of *Ch'ên*.

In the 20th year of *Kien-wu*, a *Han* or Korean (韓) man of the *Lien-sz* (廉斯) settlement named *Su Ma-shi* (蘇馬設), with others, went to *Loh-lang* residency to do tribute duty. *Kwang-wu* ennobled *Su Ma-shi* as the Sheriff (君) of the *Han* (漢 or Chinese) settlement of *Lien-sz*, and placed him under the *loh-lang* resident, with duty of making a quarterly report of himself in person (朝謁).

Towards the end of *Ling Ti*'s reign, *Han* and *Wei* (韓濊) were jointly flourishing. The prefectural and district officials could not keep them under, and the people in their distress and confusion mostly drifted over to *Han* (韓).

There was an island in the sea west of *Ma-han* called *Chou-hu* (州胡) State. The people were very short, cut their hair and wore skin clothes above but not below. They were good at rearing oxen and swine which they brought in boats to trade amongst the *Han* (韓).

* * * * *

From the above extracts it is abundantly clear that the Three Han States of the Southern Korean peninsula were politically distinct from North Korea, or *Kau-Ken-li* and *Wei-meh*, and that *Ma-han* was fundamentally different from one if not both of the other two *Han*; also that *Ch'ên Han*, whose language differed from *Ma-han* at least, did not border upon the Japanese. Moreover, some of the *Ma-han* lived on islands, and the inhabitants of some islands near them were short in stature and cut their hair, whilst some of their own people who were next to the *Wo* (either by land or sea) tattooed like the *Wo*.⁹⁹

Further, there is absolutely nothing to shew that the Chinese government (apart from Chinese adventurers) ever

99. Throughout these papers it is important to distinguish between *Han* or *Khaan* "China," and *Han* or *Ghoan* "Corea." Also between *Wei* or *Ngul*, the pure Chinese and Toba-Chinese dynasties, and the *Wei* or *Hwei* race of Corea. Phonetic decay has rendered the modern sounds indistinguishable by European methods, but the sounds given represent the potential force contained in the respective words.

extended its authority beyond *Loh-lang* and *Wei-Meh*, both of which were north of the *Han* states, at least until the *T'ang* dynasty, even if then; and that it abandoned its immediate authority over the north-east peninsula very soon after it got it.

There is also absolutely nothing to shew conclusively that the Japanese ever had a foothold in the peninsula at all, though whether the *Ma-han* and *Pien-han* shared the islands with *Wo*, or the *Wo* shared the peninsula with them is equally doubtful.

Ma-han of course was at least the modern *Chung-ts'ing* Province, and *Ch'ên-han* was part of *K'ing-shang* Province. There now remains undisposed of only the *Ts'üan-lo* Province; and whether the *Pien-ch'ên* shared this with *Mahan* or shared part of *K'ing-shang* with *Ch'ên-han* is uncertain.

It is also clear that the term *Han* or *San-han* can never have applied to *Kau-Keu-li*, *Wuh-tsü*, *Wêi-meh*, or any part of the North peninsula except, perhaps, by poetic extension: even that is doubtful.

An extract from the *Peh Shī* on the *Wo* or Japanese says: He (apparently an envoy) went East to *Yih-chī* (一支, evidently 月支) State, and next came to *Chuh-sz*¹⁰⁰ (竹斯) State, and again East to *Ts'in* King (秦王) State whose people are like those of China.

The name of *Han* (韓) is not found in the *Han Shu*, and even if king *Chun*, who was himself a descendant of the Chinese *Ki-tsz*, did escape south from the next Chinese adventurer *Wei Man*, he did not create a *Han*, but the state of *Peh-tsi*, which was afterwards found to be one of the *Ma-han*, and was later written 百濟.

It would seem from vague tradition that, when old *Chaosien* was under the *Ki-tsz* rule, and also when it was destroyed, there was and had long been a kindred state called *Ch'ên*. It is difficult to account for the new word *Han* covering the exact surface of old *Ch'ên*: in the absence

100. The Korean history speaks of a 竹島 in connection with Japanese disputes. In Japanese this would be called *Take-shima*.

of any other theory, it might be conjectured that refugees from the *Han* (韓) principality of North Central China, swallowed up by *Tsin* (晉) during the Contending States period, gave it the name, just as refugees from *Ts'in* (秦) fled to the East Peninsula. Any way, all classes of Chinese immigrants seem to have gradually adopted the native speech, even if they kept up their own for some time. The same phenomenon is observable to-day in Siam, where nearly half the town population is Chinese, but many of those born in the country only speak Siamese.

The *Han* have no history as such. Their history is merged in that of *Peh-tsi* and *Sin-lo*, and their own name did not survive long. The only piece of history I can find is the statement in the *Liang Shu* that *Ken-li* took *Liao Tung* during the *Tsin* dynasty, (A.D. 265—420), and that *Peh-tsi* took *Liao Si* (nearer to China); but that *Kao-Ken-li* routed *Peh-tsi* later on, on which the latter removed to the *Nan-han* (南韓) land. It seems a bold thing for the *Peh-tsi* people to have gone by sea to *Liao-si*; but, as they had already used boats for immigration, it is not impossible; and we have already seen that, during the *Tsin* dynasty, nothing is heard of the peninsula states, whilst the *Sien-pi* in any case, and not the Chinese, ruled such part of the two *Liao* as was not taken by the peninsula states. The *Tsin Shu* says that *Chang Hwa* (張華 A.D. 300, a warlike minister) found the *Ma-han* and *Sin-mi* (新彌 *Sin-lo*) quite independent in their hilly retreats to the number of over 20 states. The last character may be a misprint for 巖.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION II. SECOND STAGE OF SOUTH COREA.

*Hiakusai*¹⁰¹ or *Peh-tsi*, first written 伯濟, was a petty settlement amongst the *Ma-han*, and derives its name, according to the legend, from the "ten barons who crossed" over with the fugitive king *Chun* (十濟), afterwards changed to the "hundred who crossed," on account of the fidelity of the humbler followers. It seems to have taken several centuries for the new *Peh-tsi* to become a dominant *Ma-han* state among the 54, under the name of After (後百濟) *Peh-tsi*.

The *Tsin Shu* says of the Emperor *Kien-wên* (A.D.) 371—3) "He sent an envoy to appoint king *Yü-keu* (餘句), "of *Peh-tsi*, General of the East (鎮東將軍領樂浪太守) and "Prefect of *Loh-lang*." Here we have proof that direct Chinese rule had ceased and that Southern China was endeavouring to secure a peninsular ally.

Now, the After *Peh-tsi*, like the old *Peh-tsi*, owed its existence to immigration from *Kao-Keu-li*, for *Wên Tsu*, (溫祚), second son by the second wife of *Kao Chu-mêng*, who founded the latter state in B.C. 37, founded the new *Peh-tsi* state in B.C. 18. This accounts for both *Kao-Keu-li* and *Hiakusai* having the tradition of *Chumêng's* birth from a slave. The *Peh Shih* applies this story of its derived name either to his, and not to *Chun's*, faithful barons, or to *Chu-mêng* his father, who originally crossed to *Fu-yü*; but this matter is of no importance, as the

101. The pure Japanese name of *Kudara* may possibly be connected with the word *Tuk-lu*, which, as we have seen, was one of the petty groups of states bordering on the *Wo*. *Hiakusai*, *Fiaksai*, and *Piaktai* are the Sinico-Japanese stages of what has now become *Peh-tsi* and *Paktai* in modern Chinese.

tradition given by the *After Han Shu* was obtained at a period long subsequent to both king *Chun* and king *Wên-tsu*, and in either case refers either to *Mahan*, or to the dynasty which reigned in *Mahan*. *Wên-tsu*'s first capital was *Wei-li* (尉禮), the modern *Tsih-shan* (稷山 about 50 miles south-east of modern *Sêul*): he removed it to *Han-shan* (漢山), the modern *Kwang Chou* (廣州 a few miles from modern *Sêul*), and his tenth successor, according to the list given in the *Tung-fang Ki-yao*, would be reigning in A.D. 371—3. This was the king *Kin-siao-ku* (近肖古) 346—375). Here at least there is one syllable, the final, nearly right. If reference be made to my paper on the *Early History of Japan*, it will be seen that, just about now, Japan was interfering with the *Kudara* succession. In the absence of any other explanation of the discrepancy in the name, supposing the *Ken* and *Ku* not to be identical, it is permissible to assume that *Yu-kou* was the Chinese *protégé*, perhaps the same who occupied *Liao Si*, the presumable object being to counteract the Japanese influence, and protect China's frontier against *Kau-li* or the *Sien-pi*.

It has been clearly shewn elsewhere that Japan obtained its first knowledge of practical literature from *Hiakusai* early in the 5th century, a few years after the above-mentioned intrigues in which China and Japan were both concerned. Now, the *Nan Shih* mentions the arrival of the *Hiakusai* envoy in modern Nanking (建業) to beg for books just as the learned *Siao Tsz-yün* (蕭子雲) was starting for his post as prefect of *Tung-yang* (東陽). *Siao Tsz-yün* was, at the age of 26, the author of the *Tsin Shu*, (which according to *Wylie*, was not fully completed until three centuries later, and which was edited by the Emperor *T'ang T'ai Tsung*), and probably belonged to the southern *T'si* dynasty (479-501), whose family name was *Siao*. Indeed, from the similarity of name, we may take it for certain that he was the brother or cousin of *Siao Tsz-hien* (蕭子顯), who composed the *Nan Ts'i Shu* during the period 502-556, when the *Liang* dynasty, also named *Siao*, was reigning.

The *Nan Shī* makes another pregnant remark. The "state of *Hiakusai* calls the king's capital "*Kuma*," (固麻), "and a walled city '*Yen-lu*' or '*Sien-lu*' (檐魯), as though¹⁰² "the Chinese should say 'prefecture' and 'district city' "(郡縣)." The *Peh Shī*, by the same author as the *Nan Shī* says: The capital of *Hiakusai* is called *Kū-pah* city "(居拔). Besides (or outside) this there are five wards (方); "the central is called *Ku-sha* (古沙) city; the east one is "called *Têh-an* (得安) city; the south is called *Kiu-chī-hia* "(久知下) city; and the west is called *Tao-sien* (刀先) city. "The north ward is called *Hiung-tsing* (熊津) city."

The *Chou Shu*, which was written at about the same time as the *Peh Shī*, and also treats of the Tungusic dynasties of the north, says: "*Hiakusai* is 450 *li* east "and west, and 900 *li* north and south, with capital at *Kuma* (固麻) city." The rest repeated as above, except that 刀 is 刁 *Tiao*.

All this is very important. In the first place, it suggests that the ancient Japanese name *Kuma*, usually supposed to mean *Kokorai*, did not refer to *Kokorai* at all, but to part of *Hiakusai*. The Japanese History (日本略史) says: "In "the 20th year of *Yuriaku* (A.D. 476), *Kau-li* annihilated "*Peh-tsi*, killed the king and his sons, and next year set up "his younger brother *Wên-chou* (投洲) as king, presenting "him with *Kumanari* land (久麻那利地)." The Chinese-Corean *Tung-fan ki-yao* says that king *Wên-chou* (文周) succeeded his father in A.D. 475, and moved his capital to *Hiung Tsing* (熊津), the modern *Kung Chou* (公州).

Now, 熊 means "bear," and is pronounced *Kom* and *Kuma* respectively in old Korean and old Japanese: 津 means "ford," and is pronounced *naro* and *watari* in the same modern tongues respectively. The Korean and

102. To illustrate what has been said of Chinese provincialisms, *K'ang-hi* says that what the *Ts'i* people call a 檐 the *Ts'in* people call a 牆. I am inclined to think that *Sien-lu* is the sound meant, and that it is intended to represent the modern Korean *Sŭ-ul*, or vulgar word for "capital," which, as far as I could learn when I was in Corea, really meant a "hedge" or "stockade."

Japanese languages thus have about equal claims, and the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean agreement is complete,—that a king *Wên-chou* moved to *Kuma* in 475—6; that *Kuma* was known to the Chinese as the *Hiakusai* capital; that it had previously been a part of *Hiakusai* under Japanese influence, if not authority; and that it was a step further south, where in ancient times the *Mahan* touched upon the *Wo* or Japanese.

There are one or two more northern statements about *Hiakusai*. The *Peh Shī* says they had sixteen ranks of officials, the sixth and above wearing silver flower ornaments on their hats (as the Korean officers do still); and the *Wei Shu* says: "that *Hiakusai* is bound to us by "nominal ties at least (朝縻) is plain from the old records, "which mention her annual tribute of arrow heads." During the reign of the 7th *Toba* (471—500), *Hiakusai* sent to apply for troops to attack *Kau-li*.

Thus we see that *Hiakusai* during the fifth century made use of the pure Chinese as well as the Tartar-Chinese alliance, and that Japan was mixed up in *Hiakusai* affairs too.

But, in the year A.D. 570, when the Northern *Ts'i*¹⁰³ Tartar dynasty of *Kao* (高) occupied the Northern Chinese throne, the king of *Hiakusai* *Yü-ch'ung* (餘昌) was, according to the *Peh-shī*, made a Commissioner and Generalissimo. The *Yü* in the two kings' names is evidently *Fu-yü*, which, the *Peh-shī* tells us, was taken by *Hiakusai* as its state surname. According to Japanese history, the Japanese had been aiding *Hiakusai* to recover *Mimana* (任那, probably the old *Pien-ch'en* is meant) from *Shinra* some years before this. As the Chinese, as will be seen shortly, were undoubtedly friendly to *Shinra*, which state

103. The remote founder of this dynasty, 神武, probably supplied the Japanese with a retrospective name for their remote mythical founder *Yimmu*. The *Ts'i* history and the *Kojiki* were written at about the same time, namely about or during the Emperor 神功 period of the *T'ang*. From this *uengo* it is probable that the retrospective name of *Yingū Kōgū* was copied.

had killed the *Hiakusai* king *Nung* (體) in 553, it is only possible to assume that there were two contending parties in *Hiakusai*, which perhaps accounts for the conflicting names of the kings, and for the double alliance with China and Japan. According, however, to the *Tung-fun Ki-yao*, the *Hiakusai* king who reigned from 554 to 598 was named *Ch'ang* (昌), which agrees sufficiently with the *Peh Shī*.

For the rest of *Hiakusai* policy I must refer to my paper on *Early Japan* published in the *China Review* for January-February, 1890. Suffice it to say here that King *Nung* had removed his capital once more to *Sz-ts'z* (泗沘 the modern *Fu-yŭ* or *Pu-yê* district, a little south west of *Kung Chou*) and had changed the name of his state to South *Fu-yŭ*.

The *Sui Shu* says of *Hiakusai*: "They have established a temple to their first ancestor in the state city, and they worship him annually four times. Three months' journey south of *Hiakusai* there is a state, vassal to *Hiakusai*, called *Tanmen-lo* (豎牟羅), one thousand *li* in extent from north to south, and several hundred *li* from east to west: it possesses many deer (麋)." This statement is explicitly borne out by the *Yŭ-ti Shêng-lan* (輿地勝覽) quoted by the *Tung-fan ki-yao*, which says that *Quelpaert* (濟州) was originally called *Tan-men-lo*, *Tan-lo* (耽羅), or *Mao-lo* (毛羅), and which goes on to quote from the *History of Tanlo*: according to this a Japanese envoy had brought some women across the seas to marry the three *Yihna* (乙那 or 那) or native royal princes.

The part which *Hiakusai* took with *Kao-li* against *Shinra* and China has already been detailed under the head of *Kao-Keu-li*. The *T'ang Shu* says that "in A.D. 662 General *Sun* (孫仁師) was appointed Commander-in-Chief of "the *Kumanari* (熊津) army in the field, to attack *Hiakusai*." "The Emperor visited east-central China (江吳京洛), and enlisted 400,000 soldiers and 500 *Wu* ships to "cross the seas and go to *P'ing-jang*, (the *Kao-li* capital)." "The Chiefs of *Fu-yŭ*, with their warriors, women, &c; the "Japanese host (倭衆) and the *Quelpaert* envoy all sur-

"rendered (to *Liu Jên-kwei* 劉仁軌 about A.D. 650), and "the cities of *Hiakusai* became *once more* Chinese."

Here is the history of the war in three sentences. Further details will be found in my paper on Japan. The *History of Chaosien* (朝鮮志) says that below the *Fusu* (扶蘇) mountain, in *Fu-yü* district, there is a remarkable rock, which spans the river, and to which is attached some legend about the Chinese general *Su Ting-fang* crossing here when attacking *Hiakusai* in *T'ang Kao Tsung's* time (650-684).

A brave and shrewd *Hiakusai* general surnamed Black-tooth (黑齒常之) was employed by the *T'ang* Emperor as Chinese general in Tibet. He is mentioned in Dr. Bushell's pamphlet upon the early history of that country, page 16.

Sic transit gloria Hiakusai!

There was however, a second "After" *Hiakusai* two centuries later. One *Chên Hün*¹⁰⁴ (甄萱) of *Shang Chou* (尚州 south-east of *Fu-yü*) distinguished himself in the south-west coast defence, (apparently against the *daimio* of *Tsushima*). This man in A.D. 892 set himself up at *Wan-shan* (完山, two miles north of *Ts'üan Chou* 全州) as king of After *Hiakusai*, and obtained the recognition of the Turkish dynasty of After *T'ang*, which had obtained the Chinese throne in 923. The Korean *San Kwoh Shī* (三國史), quoted by the *Tung-fau Ki-yao*, is the authority for this.

It is noticeable that the kings of old *Hiakusai* used native names up to the beginning of the 9th century, after which they had posthumous Chinese names in addition, and probably the Japanese imitated them; but, unlike the Japanese, they did not manufacture and bestow retrospective names upon their past generations of kings.

104. This word is one of the rare but undoubted cases where 玄 and 玄 run into each other in Chinese.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION III. SHINRA IN SOUTH COREA.

The *Tung-fan Ki-yao* says that, according to the *Peh Shī*, *Sin-lo*, the ancient *Ch'ên Han*, was part of the *Loh-lang* prefecture, and that its king was originally a *Ma-han* man: that, according to the Korean *San Kwôk Shī*, the six *Ch'ên Han* tribes were waifs and strays from old *Chaosien*, living in six villages called after mountains or streams: and that, according to the *T'ung K'ao*, its other names were *Sū-ya-fah* (徐耶伐 or *Sū-lo-fah* (徐羅伐 probably the old Japanese *Shiragi*), *Ss-lo* (斯羅), and *Sz-lo* (斯盧). Its ancient capital was the modern *K'ing Chon* (慶州).

The list of kings in the *Tung-fang Ki-yao* gives ten with the surname of *Pak* (朴) from B.C. 57 to A.D. 184; eight with the surname of *Sik* (昔) to A.D. 356; and 38 with the surname of *Kim* (金) till Shinra's incorporation in new *Kao-li*, A.D. 927. In one case a *Kim* is interposed among the *Sik*.

The official title of the first king was *Kū-si-kan* (居西干); of the 2nd *Ts'z-ts'z* (次次); of the next sixteen *Ni-shī* (尼師); of the next two *Ma-lih-kan* (麻立干); after which *Sin-lo* became the official name of the state, and *Wang* (王) the official style of the kings (A.D. 500). The state had been called *Kilin* (雞林) ever since the 2nd *Ni-shī*'s time.

The *Yu-yang*, *Tsah-tsu* contained several anecdotes about a distinguished *Shinra* family called *Kim-ko* (金哥) whose ancestor was *P'ang-t'o* (旁缶); but these throw no further light on the general history. It mentions, incidentally, however, the development by *P'ang-t'o* of the cocoon industry.

Up to this period the kings all bore native names, but ever afterwards they had Chinese posthumous names in

addition, and even their personal names gradually became Chinese. The ninth *Nishī* incorporated with *Ki-lin* the petty state of *Kan-wên* (甘文), the modern *K'ai-ning* (開寧) in *K'ing-shang* province. Dagilet Island was incorporated by the last *Malihkan* and first *Wang*, early in the 6th century. It is variously known as 于山, 鬱陵, 羽陵. The state of *Kaya* (大伽倻), the modern *Kao-ling* (高靈) in the same province, was annexed by his grandson. Possibly this state may be the *Mimana* which was for centuries protected against *Shinra* by Japan. Indeed there were half-a-dozen petty states called *Kara* or *Kaya*, one or more of which was once called *Kim Kwan* (金官), the modern *Kim-kai* (金海), near *Fusan*. The Kings were surnamed *Kim*.

The first Chinese mention of *Shinra* I have been able to find is in the *Nan Shī*, which says that in the *Wei* time (220-264) the name was *Sin-lu* (新羅), and in the *Sung* times (420-478) *Sin-lo* or *Sz-lo* (新 or 斯羅). They called "city" *Kien-men-lo* (健牟羅), and they used the words *choh-p'ing* (啄評) and *Yih-leh* (邑勒) in the sense of "central" and "branch" cities, just as the Chinese say 郡 and 縣. The *Peh Shī* adds that their marriage customs consisted in feasting only, much or little according to means. It is doubtful if the *Loh-lang* jurisdiction ever really did reach *Shinra*. At any rate, the meagre accounts above given shew that, up to the 6th century, Chinese influence had affected *Shinra* much less than *Kokorai* or *Hiakusai*, notwithstanding the legendary early immigration of *Ts'in* Chinese.

During the early part of the 7th century, the administration was evidently still non-Chinese, for the *Sui shu* tells us that there were officials of four ranks: 1st the great *naimo* (奈摩), 2nd the *naimo*; 3rd the great *shê* (舍) and 4th the small *shê*.

Previous to the alliance with and absorption by China, a *Shinra* envoy brought two female musicians to the *T'ang* court in A.D. 628, but the Emperor gave them back to the envoy on the ground that, like the parrots from Annam, they wanted to get out of their cages and fly away home.

The *T'ang Shu* says that in A.D. 661 *Sinlo* was turned into the *Ki-lin* Territory (雞林州), and that in 674 General *Liu Jên-kwei* (the conqueror of *Hiakusai*) was made Captain-General of *Ki-lin* Circuit (道總管). The King sent his son *Wên Wang* (文王) and his younger brother *I-tsan's* (伊贊) son *Ch'un-ts'iu* (春秋) to court. This must have been about 645-50, for the *Tung-fan Ki-yao* says that a king of this name succeeded his brother in A.D. 654, and annihilated *Hiakusai*. As we have seen, the Chinese take the credit for this, whilst the Japanese¹⁰⁵ ascribe the success to *Shinra*, and admit that their own attempt to aid *Hiakusai* was unsuccessful. The father of the two princes do not appear in the list of kings, because four princes succeeded without the interposition of their fathers in turn to their grandfather or to their own nieces, two of whom reigned in succession before *Ch'un-ts'iu* came to the throne. His son, who succeeded in A.D. 661, is said by the *Tung-fan Ki-yao* to have annihilated *Kao-keu-li*. Both Japanese and Chinese authorities, however, as we have seen, ascribe this conquest to China. The probability is that *Shinra* was now practically master of the whole peninsula, subject for a short time only to the guidance of the Chinese resident.

The *Yu-yang Tsah-tsu* mentions an envoy from *Shinra* in 701. A man in his suite had once been blown to Long Beard Land, and had married a princess there, who had several scores of hairs on her chin. Reference has already been made to a Chinese who married a Shrimp, or *Aino* Woman in Long Beard Land. See *Early Japan*.

The *T'ang Shu* says that, during the reign A.D. 766-780, one *Kwei* (歸崇敬) went on a mission to *Shinra*, and that *Ku Hin* (顧愔), an officer on his staff, published an account of the country in one volume. The *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* gives an extract from a poem by one *Ku K'wang* (顧况) to his cousin, envoy to *Shinra*,—evidently the above man. He says: "If you are not like *Kwan Ning*, you are going 'to see *Sū Shī's* folk." According to the *Filial Record*

105. See *Early History of Japan*.

(孝子傳) *Kwan Ning* (管寧) was a sort of Chinese Jonas, who was caught in a storm in the *Liao Tung* gulf, and *Sū Shī*, as we have¹⁰⁶ seen, was the supposed discoverer of Japan.

During the same reign, according to the *Tu-yang Tsah-tsu*, *Shinra* presented to China a work of art in the shape of a miniature monastery, with thousands of tiny trees, priests, flags, &c ; a belfry, with a sort of clockwork emitting Sanskrit sounds. This seems to point to a taste for art already highly developed in *Shinra*.

The *T'ang Shu* mentions one *Yūan Tsih* (源叔, evidently a priest) as having been on a mission to *Shinra* during the reign 821-5, and as having noticed a popular taste for 傳寫歌, which seems to mean "illustrated ballads." A poem of the date of A.D. 800 mentions an envoy to *Shinra* to invest the king of *Kilin* (冊立使); so that, up to this date, the name of *Kilin* was in use. Travelling merchants from *Kilin* are also mentioned, and the *Kilin* premier was said to be a man of literary taste.

The poet *Tu Mah* (9th century) mentions some *Shinra* military officers in the Chinese service, one of whom afterwards became premier to the new king, and punished the murderer of the late king.

The *Peh-mêng So-gen* (北夢瑣言) says that in A.D. 850 *Shinra* built a two-storeyed legation, and applied for the services of a learned doctor named *Ma kūan* (馬曄) to compose a notice for them. The Emperor sent them gold and various stuffs.

An undated notice by one *Fei* (費冠卿), speaks of a *Shinra* bronze named *Ti Tsang* (地藏), of the royal family of *Kim* (金氏), who came to China to copy the classics: his contemporaries called him a supernatural being (丸子神) on account of his impassive fortitude.

All these little incidents put together carry us pretty nearly to the beginning of the 10th century, when the new state of *Kao-li* succeeded to the Peninsular sceptre.

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106. *Early Japan.*

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION IV. KORAI OR KAO-LI.

The transition from *Shinra* to *Kao-li* seems according to the *Tung-fan Ki-yao* to have taken place in this wise. In A.D. 901 one of the royal princes named *Kung-i* (弓裔) became a sort of warrior priest and took advantage of some rebellion in the north to capture the city of *T'ish-yüan*, (鐵原 half way between modern *Sêul* and *Geusan*). He set himself up as King of *Mo-chên* (摩震), and in A.D. 911 changed the name of his state to *T'ai-fêng* (泰封). As the *T'ang* dynasty in China was just collapsing, it is probable that these events in the peninsula were more or less sympathetic. The priest¹⁰⁷ king took for himself the title of *Mài-treya Buddha*¹⁰⁸ (彌勒佛 *Mi-zyék Pul* in modern Corean), and seems to have extended his rule over old *Kao-Ken-li*. In the year 918 one of his officers named *Wang Kien* (王建) was proclaimed king of *Kao-li*, in accordance with the scheme of two of *Kung-i*'s generals. He fixed his capital at or near *Sung-yoh*, (松岳, the modern *K'ai-ch'êng* 開城 not many miles north-west of *Sêul*), and was confirmed in his title in 932 by the After *T'ang* *Shat'o* Turkish Emperor *Li Sz-yüan* (李嗣源). As Chinese history mentions a high officer (同平章事)

107. See the *Chinese Recorder* for March 1886, Page 301, for a description of this state.

108. Apparently in imitation of the contemporaneous sovereigns of *Fuh-lin* (Syria), who also adopted this style. See Dr. Hirth; *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 64 and 90. This name may have something to do with the "stone men" (石人) or *miryôks* still found in Corea. The *Shih-i ki* (拾遺記) speaks of human stone statuary in the "Dark Sea." The *Yu-yang Tsak-tsu* speaks of a stone man 15 feet in height in the *Lai-tss* (萊子) State, and of a stone man which used to frighten tigers away on a mountain called *Sün-yang* (尋陽).

of that name in the employ of that Emperor, it seems possible that the new king was the same man; but, if a Chinese by origin, he was a native of *Sungyoh*. How he amalgamated After *Hiakusai*, also a vassal state of the After *T'ang* empire, does not appear.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION V. THE STATE OF *KAO-LI*.

Having traced the growth of the peninsula state of *Kao-li*, now for the first time united under one sceptre, through all its stages, we may rapidly glance over its history up to the accession of the present dynasty of *Ngi*, kings of *Chao-sien*, in 1392.

It has been mentioned that the short-lived *Chou* dynasty (951-960) was on friendly terms with *Kao-li*.

The first *Sung* Emperor, according to the *Sung Shī*, in the year 963 issued a decree commending the king *Chao* (昭) for his liberality in sending presents across the seas. This is supported by the list of kings given in the *Tung-fan Ki-yao*, which makes *Chao* to be the third son of the founder, and the fourth king, 950-976.

The second *Sung* Emperor, according to the *Sung Shī*, in the year 993 sent one *Ch'ên Tsing* (陳靖) on a mission to *Kao-li*. He left *Chefoo* (泉牟), or a port near it called *Pachiao* (八角), in a junk *via* the island of *芝罘*.

The motive for these missions is not far to seek, for the *Liao Shī* tells us that in 985 the *Kitan* Emperor gave orders to march on *Kao-li*, but that operations were stopped by the wet, whilst the *Kang Kien* tells us that, in that very year, a mission was sent by the *Sung* to *Kao-li* to invite assistance against their common neighbours the *Kitans*.

The *Sung Shī* mention another envoy to *Kao-li*, one *Lü* (呂祐之), but gives no date.

The *Kang Kien* says that from 1030 to 1070 the *Kitans* prevented all intercourse between China and *Kao-li*, but that in 1071 King *Hwei* (徽, the 11th king) sent one *Kim T'i* (金悰) with tribute *via* modern *Chefoo*.

A work called the *Hêh-K'êh Hwui-si*¹⁰⁹ (黑客揮犀) says that during the reign of the 6th *Sung* Emperor, (1068-85), *Kao-li* sent an envoy with tribute, and applied for the ballads of one *Wang P'ing fu* (王平甫); the Emperor gave the necessary instructions to the metropolitan prefect of *K'ai-feng Fu*. This was probably the mission of *Kim T'i*.

The *Sung Shih* says that in A.D. 1085 a complimentary mission (聘) to *Kao-li* was sent from Ningpo (定海) in two large specially constructed junks, and welcomed with great demonstrations of joy. The envoy's names were *An T'ao* and *Ch'ên Muh* (安壽陳陸). The *Ch'un-chu Kiwên* (春渚紀聞) mentions the same mission, but uses the old name of *San Han* (三韓), and says that they took a cargo of Buddhist *Sûtras* with them, to which fact they seem to attribute their escape from a storm on the second day out.

The account of *Sû King's* (徐兢) mission to *Kao-li* says: "Cow's Heart Island is in the Small Ocean, a single prominent peak, like a subverted bason, but rather pointed in the centre. Another just like this, but smaller, is called Chicken-Heart-Island. The Mr. Sieh Island (西公) is so called from a man's name: seen from a distance, it is very sharp, but, as you get near it, you see it is like a wall." It appears that *Sû King* was attached to *Lu Yün-tih's* (路允迪) mission to *Kao-li* in 1125. The *Kang Kien* mentions this mission, and says that the king inquired officially after the health of the scholar *Yang Shih* (楊時).

The *Kin* Tartars had now succeeded to the *Kitans*. Their history says that their own founder *Akutêng* (阿骨折) was descended from a *Kao-li* immigrant named *Ham-pu'* (函普). This is probably more accurate than the statement quoted by M. Deveria in the *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, Nov. 2, 1882, that *Agouta* was a descendant of a certain *Wan-yen*, who came from the state of *Sin-lo*.

The Mongol Tartars succeeded to the *Kin* dominion, and extended their own over the whole Chinese empire. They

109. I cannot trace this work, but I find that a 揮犀 is mentioned in the poems of 鄧潤南, probably of the *Sung* dynasty.

made use of *Kao-li* in their expedition against Japan. The *Kao-li* dynasty fell with the Mongols, and a high officer named *Li Tan* (李旦) was proclaimed king of *Chao-sien* in 1392 by the *Kao-li* magnates, headed by one *P'ei K'eh-lien* (裴克廉).

This dynasty continues to reign over the whole peninsula, and a sketch of its history with a list of kings is to be found in the second number of the *China Review* for 1886-7.

MODERN JAPANESE LEGAL INSTITUTIONS.

BY

R. MASUJIMA.

(Read 18th June, 1890).

The restoration of 1868 is perhaps the most striking of all revolutions. Though all revolutions mean more or less change from the old state of things to the new, yet they are the outcome of circumstances that have grown up within a nation itself, even in cases where the indirect cause may have to be sought elsewhere. Our last revolution was the destruction of the old Japanese régime, and the replacing of the same by new foreign ideas. It is, however, worthy of notice that this characteristic of wholesale change is not peculiar to the present time. Similar phenomena have presented themselves on other occasions of great upheavals in our history. The history of Japan is that of a nation that has never yet had a chance to develop continuously from within on lines of its own, only absorbing such extraneous ideas as are really beneficial. The result has, consequently, always been to a large less extent contrary to the expectations of those who were instrumental in bringing the changes about; for the changes, being always more or less artificial, have produced results which have deviated from the ordinary and natural course of events. If we look back to the time preceding the last revolution, we perceive that the authors of it had each one end in view. Belonging to certain predominant feudal clans, each set out with the object of overthrowing the Shogunate and placing his own clan in power. But these their identical intentions

of course clashed with one another. None of the clans was strong enough to make itself supreme over the others, and take the place of the *Tokugawa* Government. In order to attain their end, they all declared their loyalty to the Imperial throne and stigmatized the *Tokugawa* rulers as usurpers. They did not consider that they themselves would be usurpers if successful. This was soon after the arrival of Commodore Perry, whose demands raised another issue. The question which arose for the revolutionary leaders to settle was whether to repel foreign nations as barbarous invaders, or to submit to the force of circumstances and receive them as friends. Either because they were not wise enough to see the necessary goal to which Japan must come, or that they consciously ignored it, they adopted the policy of repulsion in order to facilitate the carrying out of their own programme. This policy of repulsion fitted in very well with their avowed loyalty to the throne. But the *Tokugawa* rulers were looked up to by foreign nations as the representative authority of the state, and hence they had to solve the problem on their own responsibility. They saw the signs of the times well enough to decide on the opening of the country. For a time this answered the purpose of the revolutionary clans, who saw in this policy of the *Tokugawa* authorities a weapon of attack ready to hand, and the *Shōgunate* was much weakened in consequence, while their opponents gained in popularity with their narrow-minded fellow-countrymen. When they had succeeded in destroying the *Tokugawa* government, however, they had to submit to the force of circumstances and to uphold the restoration of the Imperial power, contrary as it was to the original intention of each clan. Then, whether they saw it or not, the times had changed, and those men who had previously been antagonistic to foreign intercourse advocated the wholesale adoption of foreign ideas. They may not have been statesmen; I doubt whether they were. But the ease and grace with which they transformed themselves was truly wonderful. Many who had been semi-barbarous before visiting foreign coun-

tries became too civilized for life in Japan on their return home. While visiting the west, they had been dazzled by the bright light of western civilization. They were stunned by the wonders which they beheld. They were then young and inexperienced, but so zealous and patriotic that they decided to bring up this Asiatic state to the same standard of civilization as that of western nations, as if the influence of so-called men of genius, among whom these undoubtedly counted themselves, would prove magical in effect simply because they happened to be in office. They failed to see the undeniable truth that no nation can change in a day.

The history of Japan for the last twenty years has consisted of first the destruction of the old, next the wholesale adoption of foreign institutions, and lastly reactionary attempts to undo the work done. The revolutionists imagined that they could buy and import civilization and foreign institutions like any other commodity, and make use of them with the same ease and benefit as do the nations where they are indigenous. Education, the army, the navy, the judicial system—every thing was brought bodily from across seas. True it is that some of these institutions fulfilled the expectations of their patrons; but any thing imported by a forced process has serious drawbacks. The total result has not been satisfactory, and we are now beginning to suffer from it. Over-education, over-legislation, and over-taxation are the products of wholesale indiscriminate importation. The so-called statesmen of whom we write thought everything foreign was good and would materially aid progress. They had read of foreign countries and institutions, without being able to realize what they were. Education and legislation were thought the best means of fulfilling their eager desire to civilize Japan, and the more generously these two agencies were employed the better. Great expense was a necessary consequence, and more taxation naturally followed. Theorists by thousands, innumerable laws, and excessive taxation were the fruits of the policy adopted at that time. These conditions are

furnishing perplexing problems for our thinkers and statesmen. The difficulty is how to select and keep the good and reject the bad or unsuitable. If this matter is not approached with great foresight and judgment, Japan will have in the near future a socialistic class of people, consisting of dreamy, inexperienced youths, who are educated, it is true, but in a way that is of no practical good to themselves and most pernicious to the peace of the state.

These believers in the magic power of great men in office destroyed the whole ancient organization of the government, along with other departments of social activity. They tried to replace this with what exists to-day in the West, forgetting that there it is the outcome of the life and labours, the thoughts and feelings of many generations.

The judicial system of the country has shared to a great extent the same fate; saving that its changes have been more in the nature of sudden and forced growth than of wholesale replacement. This present year (1890) has witnessed the promulgation of a body of rules relating to the organization of judicial courts, which is to come into force in November next. It purports to prescribe a completely new system of legal institutions for the Empire. It is in a great measure an embodiment of what has been in use since the establishment of the modern judicial system, only clothed in new, strange, and uncouth language, and modified by translations from German codes of law. It is an improvement, doubtless, on the old state of things, for it gives further safeguards for judges' positions, though there is much yet to be done even in this particular.

The Codes also have just been published. They consist of the Commercial Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, and the whole Civil Code, with the exception of the section referring to the law of personal relations. The Commercial Code and the Code of Civil Procedure are to come into force on the 1st of January, 1891.

At this juncture a brief sketch of what the law actually is which the New Codes are about to supplant, may not be

uninteresting to this Society. After all, the work of these last twenty years must form the foundation on which the new Codes rest, whether or not the Codes serve the purpose for which they are intended. The law of the past affects the interpretation and administration of the Codes, the course and character of legal education, and the jurisprudence of the Empire.

To commence by a brief review of the judiciary existing on the eve of the Restoration, the branches of government had not then been much further developed than to that stage of progress in which the notion of judicial, legislative, and executive powers is not kept distinct, and in which each section of the government has in itself, as incidental to its authority, all three powers combined. The various officials did not hesitate to exercise all these powers at will in carrying on their business, and thus they settled with despatch any difficulties or civil disputes that fell within their respective provinces. Of these three elements of power the executive was of course the most used, and consequently was more highly advanced than the others. The notion of legislative power was but little developed, everything being settled as ordained by custom or by occasional decrees, which latter were, however, only sparingly issued. The notion of judicial power in its modern sense was very feebly developed, and cannot be mentioned by the side of that under which we have lived for the last twenty years. That power shewed itself then chiefly in the form of criminal jurisdiction. The criminal department and the detective police—two departments of independent organization—called respectively the *Gyōbushō* and the *Danjōdai* had the control of these powers. At the head of the former was a *Gyōbukyō*, or Minister of Criminal Justice, who had the whole control of judicial business so far as criminal matters went, which constituted the only judicial business of consequence in those days. The only judges then existing were Criminal Law judges; there were no Civil Law judges. This Minister of Justice heard appeals and questions of jurisdiction, and instructed judges, who were

to apply the law and give judgment according to the facts, as found by certain judicial officials. These officials corresponded very much to the preliminary examination judges in the present system of criminal procedure.

The *Danjōdai* was the Imperial Police Department, whose duty was the inspection of the empire as to its peace and order, reporting malfeasance and misfeasance by officials, and cases of oppression and injustice to the people. Whether the *Danjōdai* performed its duties well or not, some institution exercising its functions is necessary even at the present day to prevent wrongs from being committed by Government officials. But we now have no such institution, and nothing corresponding to it. Though these departments did not exercise any real power, except over those parts of the empire that were directly under the Imperial Government, the theory was that the *Gyōbushō*, or Criminal Department was one of the chief offices of the Government and had authority to watch over matters of criminal law throughout the whole Empire. Beyond the capital, (Kyōto), and the five provinces adjacent to it, different local and district Governors had jurisdiction in these matters delegated to them by the Imperial authorities. Those parts of the Empire that were under the direct government of the *Shōgun*, and those under other rulers had no connection with each others in matters of jurisdiction. The examination of the *Shōgunate's* jurisdiction over its provinces, and of appeals, both civil and criminal, from the local Courts of feudal rulers under the *Tokugawa* Government, are not undertaken in this essay, whose object is only to show the connecting links of our Imperial Judicial organization before and after the revolution. What will be the result of the new Judicial organization, also forms a separate subject of inquiry.

When the Imperial Government was reorganised in the first year of Meiji, (1868) the Criminal Law Office was established as one of the six principal departments of state business, the date of establishment being the 17th of February. It had cognizance of detective police, criminal

matters, and other business connected with the administration of the Criminal Laws. This was but a modification of the old system under a new name; for in July, 1869, this Criminal Law Office was turned into a separate department of state, bearing the old name of *Gyōbushō*, and the office of *Danjōdai*, with its old name, was revived in May of the same year, the latter taking over the detective police business of the Criminal Law Office. These departments thus respectively recovered the positions that had belonged to them before the reorganization of 1868. At this period the excessive severity of the old criminal laws was recognized and criminal law commissions were appointed in March, 1868. The Code entitled *Shinritsu kōryō*, as treated in Mr. Longford's essay, published in this Society's Transactions, Vol. V., Part. II, was the result of these commissions. This Code came into force in December of that year. In July, 1871, the *Shihōshō*, or present Judicial Department was established in place of the *Danjōdai* and the *Gyōbushō*, both which were abolished at that time. We shall in future translate this new name *Shihōshō* as "the Judicial Department;" it means Law Department or judicial department regardless of any distinction between Civil and Criminal Justice. Thus again police and judicial business was amalgamated. Perhaps in those times it did not much matter practically whether these two offices were separated or not, for they must, after all, always have acted in conjunction with each other at the command of the higher authorities, as is still more or less the case to-day. Moreover, it answered the purpose of carrying out the administration much more quickly and effectively in those times to place it in few hands.

Much need not be said touching the reasons why only the criminal portion of the judicial business should have been so well organized at first. Any difficulties that were to be dealt with in those unsettled times were necessarily rather of a political than of an ordinary criminal nature, and rather of a criminal than of a civil character.

Another important change effected during the same year

(1871) was the introduction of a distinction between various classes of judicial business, and the appointment of special officials to take charge of certain portions of such business. The Judicial Department replaced the old *Gyōbushō*, taking over its criminal business and also such civil business as other Departments of State used to settle in a summary manner. The Court called the *Tōkyō Saibansho* was established to take over the civil and criminal business that had hitherto been under the cognizance of the *Tōkyō-fu*, or the local executive government of the capital. Arrest and prison business was entrusted to the charge of the several prefectures, and different bureaux for the general superintendence of the whole empire in judicial matters were established in the Judicial Department. This and the next year (1872) witnessed the inauguration of another important change. The *Shihōshō* took over the Exchequer judicial business from the *Ōkurashō* or Finance Department, and a court for the administration of legal business between foreigners and Japanese was opened at the Tsukiji Custom House in a building set apart for that purpose.

In 1872, the Judicial Department, which had till that time been both a law court and an executive office for the judicial business of the country, carried on by the same staff of officials, underwent a great change. Separate establishments for judges, procurators, judicial police for the arrest of prisoners, *avoués*, *avocats*, and *notaires*, separate courts of law, and police and law investigation offices were created, and rules prescribed for all these various functionaries and offices. The duties of the *Shihōshō* were then defined to be those of general superintendence over courts of law and other judicial business, the Imperial Will having, however, paramount authority over all matters of importance. The Minister and Vice-Minister of the Department superintended judges, and appointed and dismissed them according to their merits. Besides this the Minister of Justice was *ex officio* the Chief Justice of the *Shihōshō* court. These Ministers had also to draft new laws and decide doubtful cases referred to them by other courts. They examined

into and decided on crimes committed by judges, and also took cognizance of political offences, it being necessary that all such cases should be referred to them by the judges, the latter not being empowered finally to decide such cases by themselves, being treated more as triers of fact. The courts were divided into the *Shihōshō Saibansho*, or Ordinary Judicial Court, *Shihōshō Rinji Saibansho*, or Extraordinary Judicial Court, the *Shutchōsho** the *Fuken Saibansho* or Prefectural Courts, and the *Ku-saibansho* or Local Courts. The Ordinary *Shihōshō* Court heard matters to which government officials were parties. The Extraordinary *Shihōshō* Court took cognizance of political offences, appeals from the ordinary *Shihōshō* Court, and crimes committed by judges. From this time forward these different courts were established or held in different parts of the country as necessity arose, and this system of courts continued in force for three years afterwards, that is, till 1875.

In 1874, the Judicial Department transferred to the prefects the business of the detective police, hitherto attached to different courts, still, however, reserving to itself general superintendence. The system of appeal likewise was inaugurated, the Prefectural Courts being made Courts of First Instance. The ordinary *Shihōshō* Court was made a Court of First Instance for matters to which the government was a party, and an appellate Court of New Trial for cases appealed from Prefectural Courts; and the Extraordinary Judicial Court, the supreme last Court of Appeal for all cases. It was also during this year that cases of claims against the Japanese government to which foreigners—whether individuals or governments—were parties, hitherto under the cognizance of the Foreign Office, were brought under the general superintendence of the *Shihōshō*, thus gradually incorporating into the judicial department all the business properly belonging to it.

It was in May, 1873, that the *Kaitei-Ritsurei*, a revised

* A branch office of the ordinary Judicial Court, held in provincial districts, as occasions arose, to dispose of cases that originated there and that might be more conveniently tried on the spot.

supplementary compilation of the principles of criminal law treated in a more lenient spirit (See Longford's essay), was put into force. The rules for civil pleading were issued in July; the rules for the practice of the Extraordinary *Shihōshō* Court were prescribed, and the Minister of Justice was relieved of the duty of presiding over the *Shihōshō* Extraordinary Court, the first step towards the narrowing of his office to that of a mere executive official. Another change in a similar direction that took place in January, 1874, was a transfer of the general superintendence of the police business of the whole Empire to the Home Department. This year saw also the inauguration of the system of new trials in civil matters, and the rules for litigation between the people and the government.

The year 1875 witnessed the carrying out of the extension of the appeal system, by the establishment of the *Daishin-in* or *Cour de Cassation*, and of the Courts of New Trial, called *Jōtō-Saibansho* in Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Nagasaki, Fuku-shima—the last transferred in August to Sendai under the name of *Miyagi Jōtō-Saibansho*. These four courts took the place of the Ordinary *Shihōshō* Court, and heard appeals from the Prefectural Courts, and their judges went circuit to hear cases involving capital punishment within the Prefectural Courts of their jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the Prefectural Courts was defined, and their judges made to sit as Courts of First Instance for civil matters and for the trial of crimes other than those under the cognizance of the *Jōtō-Saibansho*, the local governor sitting as judge for such matters as arose within his jurisdiction, whenever no Prefectural Court existed. The areas of jurisdiction of the New Trial Courts were defined by the assignation to each of them of the appeals from such Prefectural Courts as were near the seat of the Appeal Court, or according to the convenience of suitors in each prefectural jurisdiction. New rules for new trials and appeals were also promulgated. In this year the status of the *Cour de Cassation* was settled, it being placed above the Hokkaidō Administration Board. Thus, as the result of

eight years of busy judicial organization, the highest Court of appeal of the land was only deemed fit to rank beneath the various executive departments of state and a little above the largest of the local government boards.

The next year (1876,) saw the abolition of the Prefectural Courts, which were replaced by the *Chihō-Saibansho* or Provincial Court, whose judges were thereafter no longer governors, but judges appointed by the judicial department. This rule was carried out, except in such remote places as Loochoo, where the judicial business was not thought important enough to warrant the establishment of a separate court, and also in the Consular Courts of China, Korea, and Vladivostock, where the judicial business was entrusted to the consuls, the Court of New Trials nearest to such consulate entertaining any references that it might be necessary to make in cases of grave importance.

The most important event that took place after the above changes was the reconstruction of all the courts, to meet the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the prescription of different rules for effectuating the same purposes in 1880 and 1881.

In addition to the changes thus briefly described and those effected in 1886, when the rules for the organization of courts were reconstructed, Japan stands to-day on the eve of another change to be effected by the new rules of judicial organization, and is provided with the following courts, viz., *Chian-Saibansho*, or *Cour de Paix*, *Shishin-Saibansho*, or Court of First Instance; *Kōso-in*, or Court of New Trials, and *Daishin-in* or *Cour de Cassation*. The *Cours de Paix* have civil jurisdiction over cases involving claims for sums of money below 100 *Yen*, together with criminal jurisdiction over police offences. The Courts of First Instance have civil jurisdiction over cases involving claims exceeding 100 *Yen*, together with criminal jurisdiction over minor offences, and also act as Courts of Preliminary Examination for both minor and major offences. They also have jurisdiction for the trial of major offences, when there is no Court of New Trials in the place where such court is to be held. The

Courts of New Trials hear appeals from the Courts of First Instance on questions of law and fact, and sit as Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction for the trial of major offences. The *Cour de Cassation* hears appeals on points of law, both civil and criminal. Such appeals are of three kinds, namely, (1) errors in matters of jurisdiction, (2) misinterpretation and misapplication of the law, and (3) violation of the rules of procedure. There are in the whole empire 190 *Cours de Paix*, 49 Courts of First Instance, 7 Courts of New Trials, and 1 *Cour de Cassation*. There are nearly 600 *Shishin-Saibansho* judges, nearly 600 *juges de paix*, and 66 *Kōso-in* judges; 27 *Daishin-in* judges, more than 500 procurators, and 150 clerks.

When the courts were reorganized in 1880 and 1881, the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure were not all carried out. For instance, a summary method of trials for police offences was allowed and the new trials of minor offences were suspended, and it was only in October of last year (1889) that all the rules of the Criminal Procedure were put into force.

It should be here mentioned that the system of examinations for candidates for judgeships was inaugurated in December, 1884, rules for scholastic and other qualifications being issued at that time.

The year 1879 witnessed another step in the direction of progress; for more considerate ways of dealing with criminal cases were established, and no criminal case was allowed to be tried without being initiated by a prosecutor, unless in the case of a crime committed in court when the judge was empowered to commit for trial of his own discretion. The office of prosecutor is performed by a procurator. This institution of procurators may be called the bulwark of liberty in our judicial system, and efforts should be made to enlarge its scope, and ensure its healthy working, so that our people may benefit by it as people abroad are benefited by trial by jury. The procurator initiates and carries through a criminal proceeding down to the execution of the

sentence. He acts as prosecutor, grand jury, and inspector, for the due administration of laws, whether civil or criminal, which concern the public weal. The only drawback to the system is the excessive officialism imported into their way of conducting business as compared with what would be the case were the matter left to lawyers employed by the parties themselves.

The above sketch refers to the judicial system of civil and criminal justice proper; but mention should be made of the courts established as early as 1872, which take cognizance of litigation that concerns any subject-matter arising in the course of administration against officials, local assemblies, prefects, &c.. It is said that this branch of the judicial organization is very soon to be further developed. Besides this, the Courts of First Instance hear cases of dispute concerning the lists of voters, and the Courts of New Trials hear controversies respecting elections to the Diet. All litigation connected with the different laws for local government has been placed under the jurisdiction of the Courts of New Trial.*

In 1871 the judicial expenditure was estimated at *Yen* 103,972⁸⁴/₁₀₀. The budget for the next year 1890 puts it down at *Yen* 3,787,062¹⁴/₁₀₀, showing a thirty-seven-fold increase in 20 years. Whether the increase arises from more weight being attached to the judicature itself, or whether its business has really increased and developed to that extent, or whether it is the effect of a more elaborate organization, we cannot decide. Anyhow the people have to bear the burden, and whether the country has benefited and will benefit by a system which requires such large expenditure is a question to be carefully considered.

Speaking of the present law of Japan, one of the Japanese statutes, promulgated about the year 1875, prescribes that decisions shall be given according to the written rules of

* Since this essay, was finished, this class of judicial business, except matters connected with the lists of voters and elections for the diet, has been placed under the jurisdiction of a New Court specially organized for that purpose.

law, if any, according to custom, if no such law, and according to the equity of each case, when no such custom exists. These few lines represent succinctly the whole law and meet every requirement, provided there exists a properly trained judiciary. Our judges have been accumulating decisions since the establishment of our courts, carrying out their principles so far as they could in the present state of the Japanese judiciary. There are no better depositories of Japanese law than the decisions given by these judges. There is no system of law reporting, except my own, started a couple of years ago. I report only the decisions of the *Cour de Cassation*. They, however, practically include the whole of Japanese law because the business of that Court is to see that the laws are uniformly administered with regard to principle and practice in all courts throughout the country.

The laws thus ascertained, together with such equity and common sense as are added to them from time to time, according to the circumstances of each case, may be said actually to represent Japanese law, except where different decrees in the form of statute law have been unnecessarily promulgated, in which cases such decrees of course take precedence. These decisions, however, are not often cited as precedents in the courts. It would seem that the sound course of following previous decisions has never been properly understood or appreciated. So much so that one of the courts shirked the responsibility of explaining away a case cited against their views, for the reason, they said, that the same principles could not be applied because the facts were not identically the same.

For many years the work of so-called codification, which here means not a compilation of existing laws into a consistent body of simple propositions, but the introduction of a new system of laws in its entirety by direct importation from foreign countries, has engaged the attention of the authorities. The avowed object is to remedy the uncertain state of our laws. The question is: does it remedy this evil? Does the jurisprudence thus suddenly built up like

a new edifice answer the purpose of the Japanese courts? A code of laws may be ideally perfect and yet may do harm, but it may be said there are no such things as ideally perfect codes of laws nor, indeed, ideally perfect legislation. Laws are good if they grow naturally out of the circumstances of the people for whom they are made. Even then they will be but a dead letter unless they be administered and interpreted by a learned, wise, deeply experienced and thoroughly upright judiciary. And that, it is almost superfluous to say, is of all growths the most difficult. A few years cannot produce it. A man who has common sense is born with it, but judicial common sense is produced only by the labour of many generations. Not only judicial common sense, but the jurisprudence of the country must grow in a natural manner before any body of law can be made to work smoothly and satisfactorily.

It is only after the growth of centuries that any system of Western jurisprudence has become fit to nurse the laws of a country. Hence it will require years, perhaps generations of development before our jurisprudence can meet the needs created by the changes of the past twenty years. There has been an excess of theorising and copying. The agencies which effect legal improvement—fiction, equity and legislation have not followed their normal order. With us legislation has come in suddenly and superabundantly, succeeding fiction immediately without giving equity an opportunity of supplying a connecting link between the past and the future. In the older days of Roman and English law the part successively played by fiction and equity may seem strange to modern eyes. Nevertheless, these systems attained their final high standard of development because they ran their natural course. They were nursed kindly and tenderly by these two instrumentalities in succession, which are no other than guardians designed by nature to support law during its infancy and youth. The reversal of the natural order in our legislation is not only to be regretted historically and theoretically:—it is in fact practically injurious to the people, because the changes thus intro-

duced are not a development, but an extraneous thing, artificially superimposed. Moreover, it is not practicable for the old laws of Japan to be replaced with a stroke of the pen by an alien code of laws, which prescribe fine principles and distinctions worked out by lawyers on the basis of complicated affairs and phases of life existing in a society fundamentally different from ours. The stage of progress reached by that society does not correspond to ours. It is founded on contract between individuals, whereas Japanese society is still based on the family as the ultimate unit.

The question of codification has been discussed not on its own merits but only so far as it bears on Treaty Revision. Newspaper writers, the representatives of the people, have taken it up and proved themselves utterly incapable of grasping and realizing what the question means. Politicians have discussed it only for their own ulterior political purposes. There was last year hardly any sympathy with the resolution of the *Hōgakushi-Kwai* against codification. The public seemed to have thought that it was a mere agitation started by students of English law because they were afraid for their future career, as though English lawyers were utterly unfit to administer codified laws. This may suffice to show that codification, or any other question of our current legislation, is beyond the capacity of the people and not at all within the range of practical politics. Patriotic Japanese and students of history, who have real and not superficial progress at heart, will surely be of this opinion. It is a mistake for laymen to say we have no laws and that therefore codes should be welcomed. This is, however, an argument adduced by some in favour of codification. In this respect, to speak the truth, all people are laymen, except our Japanese judges and lawyers. Who can suppose that a civilized nation like Japan could go on, as it does before our eyes, with its peaceful life and prosperity without laws sufficient to protect the rights of the people and to secure order in society? Are not customs laws? Are not Imperial rescripts laws? Is

not the native tact of the judges trained in the country the living principle of these laws? Codes are not the only possible forms of law. The question of laws themselves must not be confounded with that of the form which those laws assume. An examination of the actual circumstances of the country shows that it is not so much written law as judicial discretion and common sense that the country stands in need of, to satisfy Western nations accustomed to see justice administered on a different plan. The country has not yet reached that stage when complicated judicial machinery can work satisfactorily and when fine distinctions of juridical principles can be applied. The people are very obedient to authority. This is more the result of their having long been accustomed to subjection than of a law-abiding habit such as distinguishes the English and Americans. The habits of the people are not yet legal, as it were, by instinct, but only litigious in the same way as the natives of India are said to become litigious after the establishment of law courts on the subjugation of new provinces. Yet they talk a great deal about law, and the study of law is wide-spread. As a matter of fact, what they read and study is not so much the real reflection of the life and habits of the people as Western theories translated wholesale. This state of things is the cause, in a great measure, of the theoretical nature of our modern legislation.

The system of trials in use is not such as ensures the correct investigation of facts and the due and speedy administration of justice. It is very inquisitorial in spirit. This is not borrowed from other nations, but is the original characteristic of the system. In former times conviction never took place except after confession on the part of the accused; hence the necessity for torture and the undue pressure laid on defendants. Confession was the only legal evidence. All other evidence was subsidiary to it. The traces of the inquisitorial system are visible in civil, no less than in criminal, trials at the present day. In both kinds of cases the judge alone conducts the trial, lawyers taking no part in it, as in English and American courts.

The judge does not simply preside, he conducts the investigation. The only function that lawyers are allowed to perform is to represent the parties in argument and give evidence in their stead. The new Code of Procedure is not free from the inquisitorial characteristics to which we have alluded. By its provisions the judge who presides at the trial is to conduct the examination unassisted and to ascertain facts as his ingenuity may suggest. Neither lawyers nor judges have much knowledge of the rules of evidence, nor have they been accustomed to make a distinction between the *admissibility* and the *weight* of evidence;—a distinction too obvious and important to be lost sight of by trained judges and lawyers. This is not, however, exclusively their fault: it is a result of the backward condition of the law itself, as existing in this country. For example, though husband and wife, master and servant, parents and children, may be required to give information in Court, they are not admitted as proper witnesses against each other. The Code of Criminal Procedure allows the above-named class of people to relate facts as *Sankōnin* (that is, to be used as referees) but not to act as witnesses properly so called: the idea being that these people are likely to be prejudiced in favour of each other. But we venture to think that even those least acquainted with legal affairs must acknowledge that such evidence once given, from whatever source derived, cannot possibly be left out of the consideration of the Court. It would be far better if the law included these persons among lawful witnesses and it was left to the judges to determine the credibility of the witnesses and the value of their evidence. Too much importance is attached to the personal relations of family life; and the people, or rather the authorities, have not yet realized that there is a duty which each individual owes to the state and to the law; this is one striking characteristic of the present legal system.

In stating cases, lawyers in this country have not been in the habit of bringing forward the strong points or facts of greatest value bearing on the case in hand. These are left to the judges alone to elicit; so that there is no system

of pleading in the strict sense of the term. What pleading there is has for its object the confusing and deceiving of those arguing on the opposite side, and the concealment of the points on which chief reliance is placed as long as possible. This is so much so that the whole aim of practitioners is to take the other side by surprise, and neither side is prepared to state and prove its case at one hearing. This state of things is one great cause of the slowness and expense of litigation in this country. Without a system of pleading inaugurated for the sake of settling the real issues of a case, there is no prospect of remedying existing evils. It will be a matter of great interest to see how our lawyers, trained as they have been, will shape and apply the few meagre rules laid down by the new Code of Procedure so as to make them really useful and helpful in the speedy investigation of facts and issues. In lower courts there is no system of regulating a review of facts like that of "rules to show cause" in the English system of procedure. All cases are brought up for new trial as a matter of course and without any inquiry as to the cause of the same; and the effect of new trials is mostly to gain time against the carrying out of the judgment. Only appellants to the *Cour de Cassation* must show their grounds of appeal before respondents are called upon to plead for the judgment appealed against. This also is one of the chief reasons why our judicial business can not possibly be speedily administered.

The present judiciary consists of judges of the Tokugawa and other feudal courts trained under the old régime. Is this old school of judges unsuited to the administration of justice at the present day, as has been sometimes asserted? Far from it. For age, experience, and acquaintance with Japanese human nature they have no equals. True it is that they pass many erroneous judgments from the point of view of Western jurisprudence; but this is unavoidable. True it is that they work slowly, and are long in coming to a decision; but the cause of this is to be sought elsewhere. Our *Cour de Cassation*, at least, with

all its faults and shortcomings, is a judicature worthy of the highest respect. The Yokohama Court, of which Judge Okamura of the middle Temple is the president, is a model to which all courts might well look. It gives us some idea of what a Japanese court may be made with proper management, though it has only been in existence twenty years. The judges of the new generation are drawn from the graduates of the Law College of the Imperial University and from private law schools, of which there are eight in the Empire. The Imperial Law College has three courses, one of English, one of French and one of German jurisprudence. The private law schools teach also one of these different systems. The candidates for judgeships trained in these Colleges may be versed in theoretical knowledge, but they have no practical training.

The system of legal education in vogue is too theoretical to suit the wants of our judicial administration. The truth is that there is no source from which practical illustrations can be obtained. The danger and impossibility of mere theoretical training in a profession like that of law is too evident to be discussed before this Society. We have adopted the system of training judges and lawyers separately. Preeminence at the Bar is not necessarily a qualification for the Bench. No system of apprenticeship to give practical training in law exists. Our present method neither produces practical lawyers nor supplies the Bench with experienced men. Reform in this respect is, however, foreseen as a necessary consequence of carrying out the new Law of Judicial Organization. There is no sympathy established between the Bench and the Bar. Judges always look upon lawyers as lowly suitors; while lawyers regard the Bench with anything but cordial feeling. This is very lamentable; and as long as it lasts a good understanding between judges and lawyers is impossible, and the smooth and speedy working of judicial proceedings is out of the question. Our judges are not accustomed to modern judicial habits. Arguments and principles adduced before them do not impress their minds. If they make any impression at all,

it is not of the right kind, and is often misapplied, owing to the lack of proper training in such judges. They are apparently aware of their lack of skill, and are timid in applying principles which they have to learn by theory alone. They seem to consider the law to be a rigorous system of learned maxims which only those who are better trained than themselves can properly apply. Evidently they have yet to learn that law is only discretion and common sense, applied according to the circumstances of each case, as explained by proper authorities, representative men of judicial position in each society. This is another sign of the unnatural result of introducing principles of law alien to the conditions of the country. Still native judges are better than foreigners to administer justice among us, for they understand our people better, being born to it. Foreign lawyers, however learned, being strangers cannot make good judges in Japan. As our jurisprudence improves, as our method of conducting trials and collecting evidence is reformed, and as our judges grow accustomed to the new state of things, we shall see great changes.

Judges are appointed for life. Their salaries vary from seven hundred *yen* to four thousand *yen* per annum, the amounts being raised, as in the case of any other official staff, according to merit and length of service as regulated by the supervision of the Minister of Justice. The president of the *Daishin-in* is an exception, and receives five thousand five hundred *yen* per annum, being selected by the special appointment of His Majesty. The privileges and the status of judges are not superior to those of other officials. Indeed governors and generals are more highly thought of by the people.

There is practically only one branch in the profession, the law business never having been entrusted respectively to *avoués*, *avocats*, and *notaires*, though these differences were recognized years ago, as already described. For instance, the office of notary was only practically established in 1889, certain transactions being ordained by law to go through a notary. Many lawyers went into that business; but they

have little to do. The state of society and the manner of doing business do not permit the working of such an alien institution. There are very few Japanese firms or business men who set apart an item for legal charges among their working expenses. The amount of business is small, time and labour are cheap, and consequently each minds his own business in its entirety. There has not been established that important relation of trust and confidence between lawyer and client that is so invariably fostered by the laws of Western countries. Sensible people generally do not go to law unless compelled by unscrupulous opponents, and there are very few cases of importance involving business principles. This is another proof that the state of our society does not admit of the working of complicated and so-called advanced legal institutions.

No status of lawyers as such is recognized according to the present regulations. For instance, no special scale of fees is established, and a day's remuneration for a lawyer in the eye of the law is not different from that of a coolie or a mechanic, only fifty cents a day being allowed. No lawyer of respectability will be content to work for fees based on such a scale. This state of things has disappointed foreign suitors, who have had to pay lawyers out of their own pockets, even when they have gained their cases. There is no mark or distinction bestowed on successful members of the Bar. Those who are really successful and have made money at the Bar are very few, and the Bench is not a post of honour to which they look forward. Though very few lawyers attain any success worthy of comparison with that obtained by lawyers in the West, it is not difficult for lawyers of ability to make a living, that is, as business goes in this country, and it is natural that they should look to practice rather than to the Bench.

The sources from which practitioners come are, with some exceptions in cases of English law, graduates of the Imperial University. Such graduates are usually of plebeian birth, or at any rate have no official connections; they have failed at

examinations for judgeships or have not offered themselves as candidates on account of the petty salaries and cold treatment accorded to judges. The majority of the sons of gentlemen occupy government posts, and their tendency has been to look down upon professional life as degrading and in every way inferior to official life. One of the consequences of the low esteem in which the legal profession is held by the people is the want of respect shewn to the judiciary. If more sense of respect for the legal profession both at the Bar and on the Bench be not cultivated, and legal sense and experience be not more practically developed the future of the Japanese judicial staff cannot be bright or hopeful. Mere mechanical organization will never suffice for carrying out the good intentions of the reformers. Our courts and judicial staff can only be elevated to the desired standard by many years of legal education and training, gradually applied and improved.

Our system of legal education, like the judicial system itself, is not of indigenous growth. Before the revolution, for a thousand years, Chinese jurisprudence had been studied, and after being modified by the experience and common sense of our native judges, had been applied in practice. In 1872 the *Meihōriō*, or Law Investigation Bureau of the Judicial Department, appointed twenty students to undergo instruction in French law, and afterwards some of these students were sent to France to complete their studies. Some of the students who had been sent soon after the revolution to England and America came back about the same time, after passing the course of law studies based on the jurisprudence of each of those countries. The Imperial University established its course of law in English jurisprudence in 1873, and sent out its graduates for the first time in 1878. About two years after, more students of French law graduated in the school attached to the Judicial Department. In 1884 the study of German law came in to fashion.

Our young lawyers are educated in one of the three

systems of Western jurisprudence, English, French, or German. The graduates in French and German law, whether owing to the fact that they have had no experience in private legal practice, or that the style of their training is far from being practical, seek office under the government. They are employed in helping to translate the draft codes. Those trained in English law, whether here or abroad, seem to have been influenced by the reputation, dignity, and rewards obtained by legal practitioners in England and America, and hence many of them have taken to private practice. They are considered better pleaders than those trained in other systems, and they lead the Bar of this country. This assertion may be confirmed by citing the words of Judge Tamano, the greatest Japanese judge of the present era. "Graduates in English law," remarked Judge Tamano, "excel other practitioners in the art of pleading." The tendency of those educated in French law, like their masters, is to look to so-called principles of *droit naturel* and to attach more weight to its theories than to the rationale of the letter of the law or to the practical equity connected with each case. They do not often look beyond the horizon of codes, as though the laws embodied in codes were not, after all, merely the conclusions which practical common sense has reached by application and experience. Those trained in German law have had no opportunity of conducting cases in Japanese courts. Their lack of knowledge of our courts makes it impossible that they should do other than regard German law as the standard to which our legislation must look. It is only those educated in English law that have shown discretion in adapting the principles they have learnt to practical Japanese affairs. Whether these observations are correct or not, will be seen by the course of development which our jurisprudence takes after the new codes are put into operation, and by the influence exercised by the lawyers of each school in the application of their provisions.

To sum up, of modern systems of jurisprudence which any nation may regard as models of legislation, there are

three, the French, the German, and the Anglo-American. The French system is still much infected with the speculative so-called law of nature. The German system is highly scientific, perhaps too much so for practical use in this country at the present day. The Anglo-American system is by no means the embodiment of perfect principles that have been tabulated in so many articles, and hence it is not attractive to the eyes of Japanese in general. But the influence of the Chinese method of study by our people has always led them to regard all learning as a matter of book-reading and theorising, and as unconnected with practice. Our jurisprudence has not escaped the influence of this tendency. My opinion is that any of these systems of jurisprudence, if studied by us with judgment and proper discretion, and if practical application be constantly kept in view, will benefit and direct our minds so as to make good lawyers of us, in spite of the faults inherent in each system. But the idea that anything originating in Japan must be of inferior quality has made people undervalue the practical principles of jurisprudence which our judges and lawyers have accumulated during the past twenty years. Men argue as though the study of law consisted solely of the study of universal principles, and as if there were no national barriers to hamper investigation. For instance, the various terms and phrases that have come into use among our judges and lawyers since the study of western Jurisprudence became common have been much disregarded in the new Codes. The framers of these documents seem not to be aware of the fact that principles of jurisprudence are one thing, and the scope of their application according to the circumstances of each country quite another. The results of the practice of our Judges and Lawyers ought not to be disregarded by legislators.

If our people are ambitious to be able to point to the advance and development of our jurisprudence, and to equal other nations in the attainment of a high standard in this department of knowledge and application, then let them cease theorising and endeavour to become versed in prac-

tical legal common sense. If law were nothing more than a matter of abstract study, the troublesome question of extra-territoriality, for example, would never have arisen and our government might have translated French or German laws wholesale and have enforced them to-morrow. What is the use of studying foreign systems if we do not exercise discrimination in selecting, if we do not avoid the errors into which others have fallen? The method of our procedure should be to select what is of practical use in building up our jurisprudence. Considering the progress attained by Western jurists, we should adopt only such ideas and principles as are now considered essential elements of juridical science. We must be careful to avoid many erroneous ideas that have arrested the progress of Western jurisprudence. They were the results of certain historical events which do not affect us. We can afford to pass over many of the terms which a man like Austin, for instance, tried to define, and we need not trouble ourselves about many of the notions he tried to dissipate. They were necessitated by the prevailing legal ideas of his day, but are of no use to us. We can, I think, explain the fine principles of contract without resorting to the doctrine of *causa*, or consideration, which the lawyers of France and England, compelled by history, introduced into the forum of jurisprudence, and which is now being gradually displaced. Besides, the minds of our judges and of our lawyers in general have not yet emerged from that primitive state of the legal mind, in which legality and morality are confused, and the sphere of the respective provinces of legal and moral responsibility is not clearly marked out. For example, while they admit the existence of certain facts constituting a crime, they often say that there is no crime because there is no malice proven. Except those parts of the modern law which originated in the older days of its growth, there is no rule which says that there must be malice proven; only that there is a crime if such and such acts or facts exist. True it is that murder is defined in English law as "unlawful homicide

with malice aforethought," and manslaughter as without such malice. Practically now-a-days, malice aforethought is merely a redundant phrase, handed down in text-books, and is no essential part of the crime of murder. For, as a matter of fact, though the indictment has always such phrases inserted by an old formula of law, the malice is never physically proved but only mentally inferred; in other words the question has now-a-days become one of law and is no longer one of facts. Facts proven are different from the effects given to facts so proven, because the latter is a question of law. If the state of our lawyers' minds has not yet reached a high standard of thought, it is still possible for them to be educated up to it by proper training. If we go on, however, as we are now doing, importing western juridical ideas wholesale without due discrimination as to their character and fitness for Japan, we shall render the scientific development of our jurisprudence an impossibility, and shall hence be inferior to other nations, in that we shall never possess a system which we can call our own.

Coming to periodical legal literature, we can count as many as twenty-five or thirty Journals. These are published by the Law College of the Imperial University, the law schools of English Jurisprudence, of French law, of German law and by different law and political science societies. These monthly journals include numerous translations from foreign law books. Very few of the articles in them contain original ideas. Most consist of entirely speculative discourses on law, politics, and legislation, and pay no regard to the practical application of principles or to the actual circumstances of the country. People study them and get a great many new ideas from them, but the notions thus obtained lack definiteness. There are no schools of lawyers in the country but English who can distinguish law, politics, and legislation so as to prevent confusion of ideas in practice. Our Jurisprudence is to be built up by the men thus educated, and it can not escape their influence. What will be its future if

Western ideas are thus imported in translated and twisted forms? Nothing but the confusion, arrest, and retardation of juridical thought. Besides this, we have codes translated in a new and a strange sounding terminology, which is a further worker of mischief. Its consequence will be any amount of new publications and commentaries. These will further confuse our jurisprudence and introduce dreams and speculations.

Without any disrespect to other schools of lawyers, I cannot but feel that it is English lawyers who are destined to save Japanese jurisprudence and judicial machinery from this miserable chaos. English lawyers have been trained in practical sagacity and judgment, and there is no qualification so necessary at the present moment to shape the future progress of our country in this important department of national affairs.

If we go back over the ground I have traversed, we see that our judicial system has been developed from an old system of administering justice which was principally confined to criminal cases, and that the old Criminal Law Department was turned into the present Judicial Department. The next step was the amalgamation in the Judicial Department of any and all judicial business which had till that time been managed in a summary way by each executive Department of State. At first, the office of the Minister of Justice was both judicial and executive, but it was narrowed gradually by relieving him of such duties as were strictly judicial in character. It is to be regretted that the whole judiciary is still under the supervision and control of the Minister of Justice even under the provisions of the new law for the organization of courts. At first the control of legal and political affairs was exercised by the same authority. Now they are separated. These are all signs of the due separation and the proper distribution of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. Hitherto the Judicial Department has been engaged in the drafting of the codes and important laws, but this arrangement will be changed after the opening of the Diet. It will then

surely be reduced to that of a mere initiating body for any important branch of laws within its special province, such as preparing rules for carrying out judicial business. This last power might, however, be left to the judges and such an arrangement would be a very wise one when the supervision system shall have been abolished and the dignity and position of judges elevated in the eyes of the Japanese people. Many rules made at present by officials of the Judicial Department are inferior to those that might be made by judges practically engaged in judicial administration. It will have been noticed that judges are inferior in position to the Minister of Justice and that the courts are not placed any higher than the Hokkaidô Administration Board. Judges are not better treated than procurators. They are not even all placed above the latter, the order of their precedence being settled by the distinction between the *Chokunin* and *Sônin* ranks. The Department of Justice itself also occupies only an intermediate position between the Navy and the Department of Education. Another thing to be mentioned in this connection is the summary correction of judicial officials by the Minister of Justice in a manner not differing from that of any clerks or officials in other executive offices. Again the rule which made it compulsory for important cases to be referred to the Judicial Department for decision shows that much weight was attached to cases of grave importance, but not to the judges, their position being reduced to those of mere triers of facts and no more. The relation which the Minister of Justice bears to the whole judiciary is the same as that borne by the president of each court to the judges of the courts over which he presides. That is to say, the president of each court acts as an inspector of the judges under his jurisdiction. He never presides in court to try cases, but supervises all the general and miscellaneous business of the court. No actual judicial duties are as a rule performed by him. He is overwhelmed with business which is not at all in accord with the position of a judge. The time and ability of

the best judges are frittered away by irrelevant matters. Another thing to be noticed is that all these judicial changes were introduced more for ulterior purposes than for the due weight and importance attached to the judicature itself as an important organ of a modern state. They have always been more or less formal or superficial, or rather premature; for, if there was any importance really attached to the judicature itself, the position of our judiciary would have been much improved and be entirely different from what has been shown in this paper to be the case.

The Romans established the Courts of Prætors because, though very proud of the sacred Laws of Rome, they yet were not blind to the benefits of foreign intercourse. They administered the *Jus Gentium* as a matter of favour only. Japan to-day is anxious to assume her position as an independent state, and she is required by some politicians, who are ignorant of history and philosophy, to sacrifice her customs and traditions and to adopt wholesale a system of laws and principles which are totally different in point of nationality from ours and necessarily unsuited to our social condition. Considered theoretically and in the abstract, the codes lately promulgated may embody a high degree of perfection and be a legitimate source of national pride. But is there such a thing as theoretical perfection in a matter whose essence is and must be practical? I beg leave gravely to doubt it. If the above sketch correctly traces the result of twenty years' busy legislation, it ought to be enough to undeceive and to bring to their senses those Japanese and their advisers who boast that Japan has done in twenty years what it took Western nations half as many centuries to achieve.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Tōkyō, October 16th, 1889.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the school-room attached to the Union Church, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on October 16th, 1889, Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, occupied the chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary for Tōkyō intimated the election of Mr. H. Seymour Trower as a non-resident life-member, and Professor Tison and Dr. McCartee as resident members. It was also intimated that Volume VII., Part 4., had been reprinted, so that members lacking that part would now have an opportunity of completing their set.

The President drew the attention of members to a fact that had been communicated to him in writing by the corresponding Secretary. Last session, when Mr. Chamberlain read his Review of Mr. Satow's monograph on the "Jesuit Mission Press in Japan 1591-1610," disappointment was expressed that that book had been issued for private circulation only. It now appears, however, that the book has been published by Trübner & Co., London, price 15/.

The President then introduced Mr. Clement, who proceeded to read his paper on "the Tokugawa Princes of Mito."

After some discussion, in which Dr. McCartee, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Tison, and others took part, the chairman thanked the author in the name of the Society and declared the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, December 4th, 1889.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, No. 37, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on December 4th, 1889, Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

It was announced that Mr. Hugh Fraser, H.B.M. Minister, had been elected an ordinary member of the Society; that Mr. N. J. Hannen had been elected Vice-President for Yokohama, and Dr. Seymour, Treasurer, and that Professor Milne had been elected to the Council.

The Rev. J. Batchelor then delivered a lecture on the Ainus, and read some extracts from his paper "On Ainu Legends." The lecture was illustrated by a very interesting collection of Ainu implements and articles of clothing. The lecturer dealt with his subject under three headings: (1) A general Survey of Prehistoric Times in Japan; (2) His own personal experiences among the Ainus; (3) A brief view of the Religion and Superstitions of the People. In the general survey arguments were adduced to establish that the Ainus of to-day are the remnant of a race that inhabited the whole of Japan before the present race of Japanese had set foot in the country, but that the Ainus were not the only natives resident in Japan in these very early times. Some interesting extensions to Mr. Chamberlain's philological argument (see his *Memoir* published by the College of Literature, Imperial University of Japan) were given, showing that many geographical names have a very natural Ainu significance and a very unnatural Japanese or Chinese significance. The history of many such names seemed to be somewhat in this manner. The Japanese on entering a district first took the Ainu name, mispronouncing it more or less, and then ultimately represented it by a collocation of Chinese characters, phonetically approximating to the name, but otherwise having no application. This Mr. Batchelor said was peculiarly true of the names of mountains, and instanced more particularly the case of *Fuji-yama*. This in Chinese characters means the Mountain of Wealth, a poetical and beautiful name truly. But in Ainu there is a word *Huchi*, meaning (1) an old woman (2) grandmother (3) the goddess of fire (4) fire. This word in the mouth of a Japanese would become almost at once *Fuji*. *Fuji-yama* is an old volcano so that the name "goddess of fire" is a most natural one, and a far more reasonable name than mountain of wealth. The attaching of the pure Japanese word *yama* is quite a usual process, and need not in the least affect the argument. In arguing for the evidence of the Ainu not being the only aboriginal race, Mr. Batchelor quoted extracts from the *Kojiki* (Mr. Chamberlain's Translation, Trans. As. Soc. of Japan Vol. X, Supplement. p. 141) and *Nihongi*, from the writings of Professor Milne (Trans. As. Soc. of Japan, Vol. VIII, p. 76) and Mr. Henry von Siebold, from the Ainu traditions regarding the *Koropok-guru* or "pit-dwellers," and from the Japanese traditions regarding the *Ko-bito* or dwarfs. Thus there is strong evidence of a cave-dwelling race, evidently regarded as distinct by the Japanese and (if one may draw an inference from their historically valueless statements) by the Ainus themselves. In relating his personal experiences, the lecturer touched upon the hairiness of the Ainu, and the necessity for all men to grow a beard, since it was impossible to say "How d'yc do" without it. No affinity, either physically or linguistically, could be traced between the Ainu and Japanese. Their numbers were steadily decreasing in presence of the stronger race, the population being according to latest returns about 15,000. The Ainus

had always been addicted to internecine war; and at the present day the women do most of the hard work, the men being very lazy except when hunting. The following were given as illustrations of their social customs. When a stranger went to, say, Muroran from another part of the island, he entered the chief's hut, went in very gently and sat down at the right of the fire, and rubbed his hands together softly, the chief doing the same. The visitor would then begin an address to the effect that he was a very poor man and had come from a very poor place, but that he had heard of the lustre and fame of the chief's house and village and had come to see it for himself, and then both would stroke their beards. The salutation of the women was not so nice. In entering a strange hut, a woman went in face foremost and in going away she stepped out backwards. They saluted by drawing the right index finger up the centre of the palm of the left hand, then across the upper lip under the nose, finishing by stroking the sides of the face with both hands. In fondling their children they rub their heads softly with the hands. A relative of one of the lecturer's servants having died at a place some distance off, where Mr. Batchelor proposed to go, the servant wished to start first so as to have her weeping over before he arrived. He did not wish to miss the ceremony, however, and therefore they all went together. When the servant got to the house she and a sister who was there took hold of each other, laid their heads on each other's shoulders and went slowly round, while the latter repeated what had happened, after which the servant in turn detailed her experiences. The men did not hug one another in that way: they sat beside the fire and repeated in chant what had been going on. The lecturer confessed that while he had often been present on such occasions, he could not get himself to chant; it did not sound natural. Speaking of betrothal customs, he said he found from a legend that it was the ancient practice, when a boy and girl were betrothed, to make them wear each other's clothes. In the present day when a couple were about to get married the bride cooked some food, heaped up a cupfull, and offered it to her intended, who ate a little and then pushed it on the ground towards the girl (it would never do to offer anything more ceremoniously to a woman) who gobbled it all down, and the couple were thus married. Going on to deal with the Ainu treatment of the sick, the speaker said that in the month of September he went to see a woman who had had a sunstroke. Her friends thought she was going to die, and had sent to a distant village for a medicine man. He came and, standing beside the head of the bed, was swaying to and fro and prophecying, chanting and praying all in a breath. Round the patient were half a dozen other women, who took her by the hands and blew on her to blow away the evil spirit. As it grew dark they had torches of *lespedeza*, and a brush, with which they swept all over the house and behind the tubs of water, to drive out the evil spirit. They made such a horrible

noise that he asked them to clear out, which they did. When a man got sick, they not merely blew on him but chewed the roots of (he thought) the wild convolvulus, expectorated all over him and round the hut, and drawing their swords struck blows above the body of the sick man to frighten the evil spirit away. In the case of one woman who had her scalp torn off by a bear, they put on the scalp again sewing it with a thick needle and coarse thread, but fixing the ear a little out of place. Their method of burial was to roll the body in a mat, sling it on a pole between two men and carry it off. They dug a hole two or three feet deep; into this they put the body, and on the top they piled up faggots to keep away wild animals, and at the head they stuck a pole, quite round at the top for a woman, but surmounted by a kind of spear for a man. No character or writing was traced on the pole. At their feasts the men were very proud if they could wear crowns such as that he produced for inspection, of which he had written not long ago in the *Japan Mail*. The crowns were covered with bear's hair, and the men put them on as a sign of strength, the bear being the strongest animal known to the Ainu. He also showed a quiver which the men put on when they went to the bear feasts. The bears, he might say, were not brought up by the women as children were. He had never seen a woman suckling a bear, though he had been in houses where bears were brought up. When the bears were too young to eat, the women would take food into their mouths and thus offer it to the bear. The bear was put in a cage and kept there for a couple of years, and at a certain time the people all gather together. The chiefs and the men sit in a circle with the women behind them, and as many as can wear the crowns. At the east end of the hut there are two long poles. A noose is put over the bear's head and he is led round the circle and shot at with blunt arrows to enrage him. When he is properly enraged, some of them seize him by the ears, which causes him to open his mouth, on which a man inserts a piece of wood between his jaws and keeps them open. The bear is then seized by the fore and hind quarters and carried to the east, where he is laid on one block of wood and another is pressed on his throat. By this means the bear is choked to death. On these occasions the Ainus must have plenty of *saké* or they cannot get on at all. Before the Japanese mingled with them they had three chiefs, of which two were sub-chiefs, the chief of Piratori being the head man. Their trials were open to all who came. If the trial did not give them quite what they wanted, they had recourse to trial by ordeal. One form of ordeal was to set the accused person before a tub of water and make him drink it all. If he could do so without making a face or feeling pain he was innocent. Their hot water ordeal was pretty much the same as that formerly practised by the Japanese. They made a person sit in a cauldron of water which was gradually heated, and if he could bear it to the boiling point he was innocent. Then they had the

cup ordeal which consisted in filling with not very good water a lacquer cup standing on a small tray, which they made the accused person drink. He must afterwards throw the cup over his shoulder and if it lit right up he was innocent. If not he was guilty. Then there was the hot stone ordeal, making one hold a hot stone in the hand; and for women they had the tobacco ordeal. By the latter a woman was made to smoke a certain quantity of tobacco, the ashes being meanwhile preserved and mixed with water. If she could smoke the lot, and drink the ashes and water afterwards without being sick, then she was innocent. Passing now to religion, the lecturer said the Ainus were polytheists. They had both good and bad gods. There were three heavens. The supreme gods lived in the highest; the next in order in the second heaven, and the thunder god and a number of demons were supposed to inhabit the clouds. There were also gods and demons on earth; gods of the sea,—including the uncle of peace and the uncle of rough weather; gods of rivers—of the mouth, the course, and the source, to superintend the fish and so forth; and many others, including the god of fire. They had personal gods who looked after every individual, and were supposed to rest on the roof when a man was at home and to follow him when he went abroad. They had no idols; nor was Yoshitsune's shrine an exception, for they did not worship it. There was a typhoon in Yesso some time ago which blew down the shrine, and it was now in the chief's house at Piratori. When the speaker went up there, Yoshitsune had to come out of the room, and when he came away Yoshitsune went back. But no one worshipped him. They were very superstitious. A few years ago he wanted to visit the grave of an old woman to ascertain whether there was any inscription on the tombstone—which, by the way, was of wood—but found none. Penri, the chief, directed him to the place, but would not go near it himself. When Mr. Batchelor returned he found Penri and several women, who made him wash well and beat him with willows branches to drive away all kinds of diseases and purify him. The Ainus were very much afraid of all dead women's spirits, and would not go near the grave of an old woman if they could help it. It used to be the custom as soon as the grandmother of a family died, to clear away all her things and burn the house down. They said that the spirit hovered for a time over the grave, and when the body did not come forth it returned to the hut, and, if that of an old woman, was very disagreeable.

The Chairman invited questions, but none being asked, conveyed to Mr. Batchelor the thanks of the meeting for his paper, assuring him that it would give the members very great pleasure to hear him again at no distant date.—(Applause.)

The meeting then adjourned.

Yokohama, December 6th, 1889.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Public Hall, Yokohama, on December 6th, 1889, at 9 p. m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., Vice-President, in the chair.

The Chairman introduced to the meeting Professor J. Milne, who gave a lecture on his new instrument for recording the vibratory motions of railway trains, exhibiting the instrument which had accompanied him twice across the American continent and had faithfully recorded the oscillating movements of Railway Trains throughout his journeyings. The instrument was the joint invention of Mr. J. Macdonald, of the Locomotive Department at Shinbashi, Tōkyō, and of himself. It consisted of three parts, one part recording the up-and-down motion, another the side motion, and the third the fore-and-aft motion. These components of motion were distinguished as the vertical, transverse, and longitudinal. The records were traced either on three separate bands of paper, or side by side in one band of paper, driven uniformly by clockwork. The principles involved in the construction are those that are familiar in the construction of seismographs. The object is to suspend some heavy body which will remain nearly at rest although its connections are moving. The particular form of instrument devised for recording railway train oscillations is very much more stable than any ordinary seismograph; it is further much more compact, all going into a box that can be easily carried.*

Each diagram is traced out by a pencil which swings to-and-fro across the band of paper as it moves along. When the train is at rest, the pencil traces a straight line on the paper; and thus the instrument can give complete information as to the times and durations of stoppages. When the train is rounding a curve, the medial line drawn through the centre of the to-and-fro sweeps will deviate from what would have been the record at rest, unless the train is rounding at the speed exactly suited to the cant of the rails. Irregularities in the oscillations due to variations in gauge, want of ballast, springy portions of the road, faults in ties or sleepers, irregular motions on bridges,—all are faithfully recorded. Thus, in crossing Kawasaki Bridge, on the Tōkyō-Yokohama line, it was noticed that on the down track on or about the second span there was always one large vertical movement recorded. The movement, as it could not be felt, must have been of the nature of an easy spring like bending. Another purpose to which the instrument can be applied is the testing of different locomotives on the same line, the comparison of a Pullman with an ordinary car, and so on. The lecturer exhibited and explained records which he had obtained both in Japan and America.

After the usual notes of thanks the meeting adjourned.

* For a detailed description, see *Transactions of the Seismological Society of Japan*, Vol. XV.

Tokyo, January 22nd, 1890.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, Tsukiji, Tokyo, on January 22nd, at 4 p.m., Rev. Dr. Amerman, President in the chair.

The minutes of the last two meetings, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Mr. H. A. Howe. The election of the following gentlemen as ordinary members was announced:—Messrs. C. A. W. Pownall, S. Kudo, J. B. Rentiers, E. M. Hobart-Hampden, Rev. Clay MacCauley, and Professors Garrett Droppers, J. W. Wigmore, and W. S. Liscomb.

The Chairman intimated that the next business would be the reading of the papers. The first by Dr. Edkins "On the old Japanese vocabulary" could hardly be comprehended even if read slowly, and therefore, if it was the pleasure of the members he would call upon the Corresponding Secretary to give a description of it, and the paper itself could afterwards be read in print in the Transactions of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary explained that the paper was chiefly an answer to one written by Mr. Ueda and himself and read before the Society in May, 1888, which consisted principally of a vocabulary of archaic Japanese. Of that paper Dr. Edkins' was a criticism. Having explained parts of the paper and read several quotations, Professor Chamberlain said for himself he was inclined to disagree with most of what the author advanced. His whole method and therefore the conclusions at which he arrived seemed to the speaker to be vitiated by the habit of arguing from mere guesses—highly venturesome guesses indeed—as if they were probabilities or almost certainties. He spoke, for instance, of the state of China 2,500 years before Christ, making absolute assertions concerning the high state of civilization at which the Chinese had arrived and giving the details of the civilization. It might safely be said that we knew absolutely nothing about the state of China then. There had recently been an interesting discussion in the China Branch of the Asiatic Society, in the course of which Dr. Faber and Mr. Kingsmill had apparently shown that the early history of China required to be demolished as absolutely by the sceptic as was the early history of Japan by Mr. Aston and others, and that we really knew very little of China earlier than a century or so before Confucius, much less of it 2,000 years before Christ. Another point in which he disagreed with Dr. Edkins was as to the argument of the latter that there was any natural position of words. What proof was there of this? There was no proof—only assertion. There was an amusing book published by Mr. Hirata, in which he discussed questions of grammar, and among other things—he was a great patriot—he discussed the wickedness of foreign nations in general—not only in act but in speech. He said they

could judge of their hearts by their writing, which was crooked, and written from left to right. The Dutch and others very often put the the verb before the accusative, but the only natural way was to put the verb at the end of the sentence, and that was why they in the country of the gods did so. Take the sentence "see the moon" (*tsuki wo miru*); if the moon were not there first you could not see it afterwards. Thus that people might discuss grammatical subjects and settle what was natural and unnatural according to their own pre-conceived notions. He also thought it was very far from proved that all languages were originally monosyllabic, as Dr. Edkins seemed to assume. Why should they not be of various sorts from the beginning?

The Chairman offered the Corresponding Secretary the thanks of the meeting for his description of the paper, and the comments he had made.

Dr. Divers asked for an explanation of a statement in the paper as to the relations between temperature and the construction of a language.

The Corresponding Secretary said he was obliged to read the passage as it occurred, but he must say he was struck with amazement when he saw it in the manuscript; there it was, however, and he could not explain it.

The next paper, by Mr. W. G. Aston, on "Korean Popular Literature," in the absence of the author, was read by the Corresponding Secretary.

The Chairman remarked that this paper was written in fulfilment of a promise made by Mr. Aston before he left Japan to the effect that he would as time and opportunity offered make such contributions to the Society as he could. He was sure they were all deeply indebted to Mr. Aston for the paper and to Mr. Chamberlain for reading it. There was present, he was glad to say, a representative from Korea, the Rev. Mr. Underwood, who had lived there for several years, and they would be glad of any light that he could give.

Mr. Underwood said that in Korea what they called Korean writing was not acknowledged by the majority of the people. A Korean would say that it was for the women and children. One might travel all over the country, and if an official were asked if he could write in what was known as the *ŏmun*, he would request the enquirer not to insult him. Men in Sŏul who were good writers of the *ŏmun* would be a little ashamed to admit it. If one wanted to know what Korea had done from a literary standpoint, one must look at the books written in the Chinese character, not at those in the native character. The spelling was one of the difficulties that a student of Korean had to contend with, for each spelt to suit himself; there being no syllabary but an alphabet pure and simple. There had been found, however, a Korean-Chinese Dictionary, which though originally intended to teach Korean students the sounds of the Chinese characters, had been taken by foreigners as a

standard for spelling. The Koreans had many stories of the class of the "transferable tiger," all about as mythical and wonderful. There was an interesting explanation, he might remark, of the origin of the word for story, *niaks* or *niyaki*, as it was differently spelt, namely, that a former King who suffered from melancholia was cured by a man who diverted him by telling yarns, hence the word *niyaki*—"profitable medicine." In reply to the Chairman, Mr. Underwood said of course the coolies could not read at all, but over one half of the upper classes could read the Chinese character—or more than one in ten of the whole population. As to native books in the Chinese character, he had only laid his hand on two, one on geography and one on history. His own knowledge of Chinese was very small, but he understood from Koreans that their books were for the most part on morals, customs, the five duties, &c.

Dr. Divers thought that the state of things described as resulting from attempts to spell Korean phonetically might be taken as an illustration of what would occur if English were spelt phonetically. Was the variation in spelling due to the fact that the words were pronounced differently in different provinces, or that the sounds of the latter were different?

Mr. Underwood explained that both the vowels and the consonants differed, and were modified to such an extent that ambiguity arose.

Professor Chamberlain remarked that having had conversations with Mr. Aston, he thought that gentleman meant to say, when he spoke of Koreans failing to understand many words written in the *ōnmun*, that the writers were prone to introduce a greater number of Chinese words into the novels than in speaking—that they had a tendency to John-sonese.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, February 12th, 1890.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, No. 37, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on February 12th, 1890, at 4 p.m.

The chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Amerman, President.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election of Professor A. M. Knapp as a member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary gave notice of a resolution which Dr. Seymour purposed moving at the next general meeting, the object of the resolution being so to amend the Rules of the Society as to permit the privileges of non-resident members to be extended to Societies desirous of receiving the Society's Transactions, but unable to give in exchange an equivalent in kind.

Dr. Amerman having vacated the chair to the Rev. James Summers, Mr. B. H. Chamberlain proceeded to read his paper, "What are the Best Names for the Bases of Japanese verbs."

In the absence of the author, Dr. Amerman read Dr. Imbrie's Reply to Mr. Chamberlain on Japanese Bases.

In reply to Dr. Imbrie's arguments, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that to regard the indefinite form of the second conjugation as a stem to the other bases was a position quite untenable. For in the written language, and indeed in the south-western spoken dialect we find *akuru*, not *akeru*, for the certain present. Again, surely it was an argument in its favour, rather than against it, that the term "indefinite form" should be itself indefinite. He was not, however, specially enamoured of the term, which had been suggested to him in conversation by Mr. Satow some years previously.

The Chairman remarked that the getting rid of the vowel seemed after all the prime difficulty. In regard to the origin of the *go-jû-on*, which had been touched upon by Mr. Chamberlain, he was of opinion that it had a Buddhistic origin. At any rate, we find the same arrangement in the Tibetan language, and the Japanese may well have got it first along with the Buddhist missionaries.

Mr. Chamberlain thought this a very probable surmise. In Japanese literature the *go-jû-on* is first mentioned in 1185 in a book of music; but it was not till 1546 that it began to come into use at all. It came into prominence only last century, the now established order dating from the time of Motoori (died 1800 or 1801). The *go-jû-on* was the one great discovery of the old Japanese grammarians. They are never tired of referring to it; and the arrangement is intimately mixed up with mythological names and tales. When we remember how many educated people amongst ourselves are unaware of the close phonetic relation of *t* and *d* or of *k* and *g* (hard) we shall readily appreciate how great must have been the advance when Japanese grammarians arranged what we call *ta*, *chi*, *tsu*, *te*, *to* as well as *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko* under the same heading.

Dr. McCartee, from a general view of the historic development of the ideographs, syllabaries, and alphabets, which are to be found amongst Mongolian peoples, argued that as the languages of such peoples were essentially syllabic, so the tendency was towards syllabic spelling. Even where they possessed a real and thoroughly serviceable alphabet, as in Korean and Manchu, they nevertheless taught this alphabet as a syllabary. Further, it was his opinion that the Japanese had a clear phonetic sense, more so than perhaps any of their linguistic neighbours. Thus the Chinese terminations *in* and *ing*; as for example in the case of the characters 民 and 明, which are commonly distinguished by the Japanese as *Min*, and *Ei* (or *Myô*) respectively; whereas in several Chinese dialects these terminations were hopelessly confused.

The Rev. Dr. Knox thought that it would be well if the whole question of Japanese grammatical terminology could be thoroughly gone into, and settled on broad scientific and philological grounds once for all. Mr. Chamberlain and Dr. Imbrie were both agreed on the advantages to be gained by such a course. Some little progress had already been made; and now, with so many able authorities to one's very hand, it should be an easy matter to make still greater progress, and construct a grammatical system at once practically useful and theoretically satisfactory.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, March 13th, 1890.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, No. 37, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Thursday, March 13th, 1890, at 4 p.m., Dr. Divers, Vice-President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

There being no other business to engage the attention of the Society, the Chairman called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read Mr. E. M. Satow's paper on "The Origin of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan."

The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to their Honorary Member, Mr. Satow, for his interesting paper, which seemed to emphasise the misfortune of Japan having been, simply from its geographical position, near the region where the two streams of European influence, the one passing eastwards and the other westwards, met in rivalry towards the close of the 16th century.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, April 16th, 1890.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, No. 37, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on April 16th, 1890, at 4 p.m., the Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

Since the last meeting, the Rev. A. F. King, and Messrs. A. C. Sterne, L. H. Deakin, and A. Dumelin, had been elected resident members.

The President then called upon Dr. McCartee to read Mr. E. H. Parker's paper on Race Struggles in Corea.

The President, in expressing the thanks of the society to Mr. Parker for his erudite paper, said that special thanks were also due to Dr. McCartee for his kindness in undertaking at the request of the Council the task of selecting such portions as were readable before a general audience. This had been no light task; and those who had listened to

the extracts read, supplemented and made more intelligible by Dr. McCartee's able commentaries, must have felt that the matter could not have been committed to better hands.

In answer to some questions, Dr. McCartee remarked that there seemed to be no evidence, during the period treated of by Mr. Parker, of a migration of the original Chao-sien races into the Peninsula now called Chosen. The races had remained occupying much the same territories from these early historic times until the present day. It was simply the *name* that had been shifted so that it was now attached to a territory far removed from the territory to which it had originally referred.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, June 18th, 1890.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in St. Paul's School, No. 37, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, June 18th, 1890, at 4 p.m. Dr. Divers, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last General Meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. Denning, and was as follows :—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION
OCTOBER, 1889—JUNE, 1890.

The session which closes to-day has been one of uninterrupted labour and quiet prosperity. The papers read before the Society have been chiefly of a technical nature, embracing not only Japanese history and philology, but also the history and literature of the Ainos and of Korea (see Appendix A). There have also been two popular lectures—one on the Ainos, by the Rev. Jno. Batchelor, at which various implements, articles of wearing apparel, &c., were exhibited, the other on the Movements of Railway Trains, by Professor Milne, F.R.S. The total number of General Meetings of the Society has been nine. One of these was held at the Public Hall in Yokohama, most of the others at St. Paul's School, Tsukiji. The Council desires to express to the American Episcopal Mission its thanks for the loan of so central and convenient a meeting-hall.

The Treasurer's statement (Appendix C) shows a satisfactory balance on the credit side. It must, however, be remembered that Part II. of the current volume, being still in the printers' hands, has not yet been paid for.

Seventeen ordinary members and one honorary member (Sir Edwin Arnold, K.C.I.E.), have been added to the roll of the Society since October last. On the other hand, there have been four resignations. The total accession to the ranks of the Society is therefore thirteen. Specially worthy of notice is the increasing sale of complete sets of the

Society's "Transactions"—a proof of the wisdom of the decision to continue reprinting such of the earlier numbers as had gradually become exhausted. The reprints issued during the session just brought to a close are Vol. VI., Part II., and Vol. VII., Part III.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1889-1890.

- "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito," by E. W. Clement, Esq.
"Specimens of Ainu Folk-Lore, VIII. A Legend of Love and War,"
by Rev. Jno. Batchelor.
"On the Old Japanese Vocabulary," by Rev. Dr. Joseph Edkins.
"Korean Popular Literature," by W. G. Aston, Esq., C.M.G.
"What are the Best Names for the *Bases* of Japanese Verbs?" by
Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq.
"Reply to Mr. Chamberlain on Japanese *Bases*," by Rev. Dr. William
Imbrie.
"The Origin of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan," by Ernest
Satow Esq., C.M.G.
"Race Struggles in Korea," by E. H. Parker, Esq.
"Japanese Legal Institutions at the Present Day," by R. Masujima,
Esq., of the Middle Temple.
Lecture on the Ainos, by Rev. Jno. Batchelor.
Lecture on the Movements of Railway Trains, by Prof. John Milne,
F.R.S.
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APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
Academy of Sciences of Finland (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*).
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.
American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
American Chemical Journal.
American Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.
American Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.
American Philological Association, Boston; Transactions and Journal.
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuscum, Wien.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.

- Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Journal and Proceedings.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
Australian Museum, Sydney.
Bataviasch Genootschap ; Notulen.
Bataviasch Genootschap ; Tijdschrift.
Bataviasch Genootschap ; Verhandlungen.
Boston Society of Natural History ; Proceedings.
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports, Washington.
Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, Washington.
California Academy of Sciences.
California State Mining Bureau ; Report.
China Review ; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder ; Shanghai.
Cochinchine Francaise, Excursions et Reconnaissances, Saigon.
Cosmos ; di Guido Cora, Turin.
Canadian Institute, Toronto ; Proceedings and Reports.
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde, Ostasiens, Tōkyō :
Mittheilungen,
Geological Survey of India ; Records.
Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
Handels Museum, Wien.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology ; Bulletin,
Papers etc.
Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society ; Bulletin and Reports.
Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) : Section
of Anthropology and Ethnography, Transactions.
Imperial University, of Japan, College of Science ; Journal.
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
John Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Natur-
forscher ; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Réveu, etc.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.
Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario Mexico.
Observatorio Meteorológico, Monte Video.
Ornithologischer Verein in Wien, Mittheilungen.
Öfversigt af Finska Societen.
Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei ; Bulletin des Observations.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch ; Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.
Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch ; Journal.

Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch ; Journal.
 Royal Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.
 Royal Geographical Society ; Proceedings.
 Royal Geographical Society, New South Wales Branch.
 Royal Society, London ; Proceedings.
 Royal Society, New South Wales.
 Royal Society of Tasmania.
 Royal Society of Queensland.
 Royal Scottish Geographical Magazine.
 Seismological Society of Japan ; Transactions.
 Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. ; Reports, etc.
 Sociedad Geografia de Madrid ; Boletin.
 Sociedad de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.
 Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.
 Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.
 Société de Geneve, Journal.
 Société des Études Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.
 Société d'Anthropologie de Paris ; Bulletins et Mémoires.
 Société d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.
 Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.
 Société des Études Indo-Chinoises de Saigon ; Bulletin, Saigon.
 Sydney, Council of Education Report.
 University of Toronto.
 United States Geological Survey.
 " " Department of Agriculture.
 Vereins für Erdkunde, Leipzig : Mittheilungen.
 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

APPENDIX C.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31ST, 1890.

	DR.	YEN.
To Hakubunsha for Printing		774.36½
To Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing		183.12
To Mr. Conder for Illustrations		54.40
To Library Expenses		43.00
To Cor. Sec. Current Expenses, Postage, &c.		37.33
To Treasurer's Current Expenses, Postage, &c.		15.12
To Lithograph for Mr. Clements		1.00
To Ogawa for Photographing		34.50
To Yokohama Public Hall		10.00
		<u>1,142.83½</u>
Balance.. .. .		1,114.52½
		<u>2,257.27</u>

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	CR.	YEN.
By Balance from Last Year		977.37
By Entrance Fees		95.00
By Life Subscriptions		113.70
By Yearly Subscriptions.. .. .		736.00
By Sale of Transactions.. .. .		325 10
By Interest at Bank.. .. .		11.10
		<hr/> 2,257.27

J. N. SEYMOUR, Treasurer.

N.B.—In this account are included the accounts of Mr. Dixon from June 18th, to November 15th, 1889.

Examined and found correct,

J. McDONALD GARDINER, }
GEORGE WM. KNOX, } Auditors.

The Treasurer intimated that, since the accounts had been audited, a few more subscriptions had been collected, and a further sum of \$149.90 for sales of Transactions through Messrs. Kelly & Walsh had been received.

On the motion of Dr. Knox, seconded by Professor Liscomb, the Report of the Council was accepted and adopted.

The election of Officers and Councillors for the ensuing year resulted as follows :—

PRESIDENT—N. J. Hannen, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. Dr. G. Cochran ; Dr. E. Divers, F.R.S.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARIES—Dr. C. G. Knott, F.R.S.E. ; W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

TREASURER—Dr. J. N. Seymour.

LIBRARIAN—Rev. W. J. White.

COUNCILLORS :

Rev. Dr. J. L. Amerman.

W. Dening, Esq.

J. H. Gubbins, Esq.

R. J. Kirby, Esq.

Rev. Dr. G. W. Knox.

Rev. Dr. D. Macdonald.

R. Masujima, Esq.

J. Milne, Esq., F.R.S.

Rev. Dr. W. Spinner.

J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

Dr. Thwing, in response to the Chairman's invitation, presented to the Society the cordial greetings of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and of other Societies, of which he was a member and representative.

The Chairman, in the name of the Society, thanked Dr. Thwing for his very cordial greeting, which he felt sure every member would heartily reciprocate.

Mr. Masujima was then called upon to read his paper on "Japanese Legal Institutions at the Present Day."

The Chairman said that the Society might well congratulate itself on having had presented to it the interesting paper, parts of which had just been read. Personally he regretted exceedingly that the indisposition of Mr. Hannen had deprived the meeting of a legal chairman able to thoroughly appreciate the many points touched on by Mr. Masujima. With Mr. Masujima's position, if he understood it aright, he had strong sympathy. The wish was that Japan might develop a national system of law, using foreign systems to assist that development; and the belief was that of all such foreign systems English Law was best suited to give the needed assistance. He should like to ask Mr. Masujima what in his opinion would be the effect of the new Codes on the administration of justice? Would the new Codes retard development in any way? In regard to the separation of the Bench and the Bar he was quite at one with the author of the paper; but that, again, might be simply the result of English prejudice.

Mr. Masujima said in reply:—The question of the Codes is a very mixed one. The practical objection is that they won't help the administration of justice. The provisions of the Codes are excessively minute, describing customs and conditions that not only are not found in our present courts of law but are quite foreign to the whole form in which the Japanese mind is moulded. To follow out these provisions will require a complete subversion of the basis of Japanese Society. This indeed is the great objection to them. So minutely is the law laid down that it almost seems as if it were so done for the sake of our poor ignorant Judges, who in their perplexity over some question may haply always find something bearing upon it, however indirectly.

Mr. Denig thought that Mr. Masujima's broad objection to the New Codes was that, being based on Western usages and habits of thought, they contained much that was inapplicable to Japanese social conditions, and settled many things that might better have been left open. Nobody of rules was ever framed that could suit even similar societies in different circumstances. In education, in social life, in forms of government, in religion, the same difficulty has been felt, and is more keenly felt than ever in Japan. Wholesale importation of Western ideas is unadvisable. Western nations cannot, after all, claim superiority in everything; and it was a mistake to think that Japan must submit to changes whether or not they were alien to her customs, her history, and her habits of thought.

There being no further discussion, the Chairman drew attention to a circular which the Corresponding Secretary had received intimating

that an attempt was being made to resuscitate the *Oriental Translation Fund*. The intention was, in the first instance, to collect the names of gentlemen willing to become either life or annual members ; and if sufficient support was obtained, the Society would be properly organised. During the 50 years of its previous existence, this Society published fully 70 translations of valuable works from Persian, Arabic, Sanscrit, Chinese, Japanese, etc. Intending subscribers to the new Fund are requested to address communications to F. F. Arbuthnot, 18, Park Lane, Picadilly, London.

Copies of Messrs. Kelly and Walsh's new Index to the paper published in the Society's Transactions were handed to the members present ; and it was intimated that any member would receive a copy on applying to the Corresponding Secretary.

The meeting then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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- Alcock, Sir Rutherford, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Arnold, Sir Edwin, C.S.I.N., London.
Arthur, W. Rear-Admiral, c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London.
Aston, W. G., M.A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., Cornhill, London.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Edkins, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Shanghai.
Franks, A. W., London.
Nordenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, Ernest M., C.M.O., Montevideo.
Sylv, Rev. E. W., D.D., Surbiton, Surrey, England.
Wade, Sir Thomas F., K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
-

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Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
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Carson, T. G., Bamfield, Coleraine, Ireland.
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Flowers, Marcus, National Union Club, Albemarle Street, London, W.
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Holme, C., F.L.S., The Red House, Bixley Heath, Kent, England.
Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
Liberty, Lazenby, 13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, London, England.

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Pa., U. S. A.
MacLagan, Robert, 9 Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London.
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Marshall, Prof., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
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Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.
Trower, H. Seymour, 51 Montagu Square, London, W.

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